

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting
Geertgen tot Sint Jans
and Jerome Bosch

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jerome Bosch



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Early Netherlandish Painting

VOLUME V

Max J. Friedländer



Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jerome Bosch

COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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Foreword

The propensity of historians to straitjacket observed phenomena into a system of cause and effect lies at the bottom of many errors. Inasmuch as I am fearful of lapsing into such error, it behoves me all the more not to obscure contexts that may come to light of themselves. It is for that very reason that the sequence of chapters is a matter of some importance. When I speak to the reader of Master B, he should have already been informed about Master A—if anything in the work of Master A may be considered a prerequisite to an understanding of the work of Master B. A strict chronological order must never be abandoned. Yet much thought must be given to the question of which subject should be given precedence, when two are contemporary.

My problem on this occasion was whether to follow my discussion of Hugo van der Goes directly with one of the Bruges school, i.e. in essence the work of Memling and Gerard David. Memling's art, to the degree that it is at all susceptible of elucidation, rests on a platform I have already laid, but this is not true of the art of Gerard David. With him, an influx from the Northeast streamed into the Flemish town; and for an understanding of this master it would seem to be necessary to study the 'Dutch' output first. Since I do not want to sunder Gerard David from Memling, I am therefore postponing my discussion of Memling as well.

I use the term 'Dutch' only with reservations and in default of a more suitable one. The Kingdom of the Netherlands within its present-day political borders does not altogether coincide with the region deserving of the name Holland, in the sense of the history of culture and art. There is, furthermore, a question of whether and in what measure the art historian's concept of 'Holland' may be properly applied to what prevailed in the 15th century.

I shall, in this volume, present a number of figures who were active about 1490 within the present borders of the Dutch state. No picture of an artistic character peculiar to this land is likely to emerge. I do distil the impression, however, that the Northern and Eastern regions of the Netherlands, economically backward and with a soil that was anything but paradisiac, were rich in creative masters and sent out an influence that served to stimulate the South and West fruitfully.

I give precedence to Geertgen as the master who, by geographic coordinates, and more than any other member of his generation, was a truly Dutch painter, a representative of the Dutch character.

The nameless master of about the same age whom we call the Master of the Virgin among Virgins is also linked with the region of Holland—tentatively the town of Delft—although only with the aid of stylistic criticism, i.e. without ultimate authority.

Jerome Bosch worked in 's Hertogenbosch, or Bois-le-Duc, a place that belongs to Holland today, but then lay in the duchy of Brabant, rather remote from the cultural centre of Holland. Political geography alone never fully answers questions of race and ethnic character. Taken by his creative style, Bosch emerges as a thor-

oughgoing individualist rather than the representative of a country or period. As far as we know, the influence of his art began to be felt only late, and we shall have to go, in the main, to Antwerp to trace it.

10 Netherlandish art drew on great sources of strength in the Northeast, indeed more so than in Bruges, Ghent and Brussels, where art flourished luxuriantly under favourable conditions. The workshops of Flanders and Brabant thrived on royal favour and bourgeois wealth, and especially the patronage of Italian merchants. The booming towns drained away resources from those that were poorer and weaker. Not only that, more is preserved in the South. So the whole picture is distorted and the focus shifted—so much so that we have even become accustomed to calling Netherlandish art simply ‘Flemish art.’

Geertgen tot Sint Jans

11

All we know of Geertgen of Haarlem, 'Little Gerrit,' flows from van Mander's account. Van Mander took particular pains in Haarlem, while casting about for intelligence about the old masters. His *Schilder-Boeck* is dedicated to two friends, two connoisseurs of the art of painting who lived in Haarlem. He is by no means close-mouthed about his sources. An 'upright old gentleman,' the Haarlem painter Albert Simonsz, told him about 1604 he had been a student of Jan Mostaert 60 years ago—that would be about 1544. Mostaert had then been about 70, i.e. he was born about 1474; yet he had assured Simonsz he had known neither Albert van Ouwater nor Geertgen tot Sint Jans.

In all likelihood, everything van Mander tells us about the art of Haarlem in the 15th century goes back to Jan Mostaert by way of Albert Simonsz. Mostaert may have been too young to have known van Ouwater and Geertgen, but he was old enough to be in possession of trustworthy traditions about the painters of the 15th century. When still of 'tender years,' Mostaert studied with a Haarlem master named Jacob. And this Jacob, who painted the altarpiece of the cornbearers in the great church at Haarlem—we read all this in van Mander's life of Jan Mostaert—must have been Geertgen's contemporary.

We thus have a family tree for the art of Haarlem—tradition was handed down without a break. We are unlikely to go amiss in believing that van Ouwater and Geertgen were the greatest of their time, not only in Haarlem, but in all Holland, and we may trust what little van Mander tells us about them, at least in the degree that it is not contradicted by the evidence of our eyes.

In respect of Geertgen, this is what the biographer tells us: Gerrit of Haarlem bore the surname tot Sint Jans, because he dwelt with the brethren of the Order of St. John. He never actually took holy orders himself, however.

He was a pupil of van Ouwater. We shall examine this statement, which van Mander makes on two occasions, in the light of stylistic analysis.

He died young, at the age of about 28. This statement, together with the negative evidence of Albert Simonsz and actual scrutiny of Geertgen's paintings, makes it easier for us to establish the time limits. On the premise that the memory of the 'upright old gentleman' did not deceive him, Geertgen must have already been dead by 1490, about the time Mostaert became Master Jacob's apprentice. On the other hand, we cannot put the time of his activity very much earlier, if indeed at all. The limiting factor is the study of the fashions in dress in Geertgen's paintings. If we tentatively put the date of his death at 1488 and accept the lifespan given by van Mander, we arrive at 1460 as the year of Geertgen's birth. This would mean that he became van Ouwater's pupil about 1475; but this entire reconstruction rests on the integrity and memory of two old men. When we cast loose from this traditional framework and look at the surviving works, we are inclined to put the master's death somewhat later—although we shall scarcely have reason to put it any later than 1495 (11).

In his endeavour to sing the Haarlem master's praises, van Mander oddly enough cites Dürer. Regarding Geertgen's pictures with deep admiration, the German had summed up his esteem in these words: 'In truth, he was a painter before his mother gave him birth.' If Dürer had tarried in Haarlem, we should know about it. His diary, however, is silent on this score (21).

Aside from van Mander's report, we have a supplementary footnote to the master's life in the inscription to an engraving by Theodore Matham after Geertgen's *Lamentation*, which was published in 1600 (?) (31). Few engravings were made at that time from works that lay so far in the past, and the choice of Geertgen's painting testifies all the more eloquently to the extraordinary esteem in which it and its author were held in the time when van Mander was writing. It may indeed have been van Mander's historical endeavours that had turned attention to this ancient work.

In the caption to the engraving, Geertgen is twice dubbed *Gerardus Leydanus*¹. It was known, or for some reason believed, that the painter came from Leyden, a matter on which van Mander is silent; whereas the further statement in the inscription to this rare engraving, which describes Geertgen as *famulus et pictor* to the Order of St. John at Haarlem, agrees with van Mander. It does not seem justifiable to draw any valid conclusions from this casual statement in respect of a connection between Geertgen and the Leyden 'school'².

As told by van Mander, Geertgen painted their high altarpiece with a *Christ Crucified* in the centre for the Order of St. John at Haarlem. Even by van Mander's time, the centre panel of this triptych had perished, together with one shutter—'in the assaults of the iconoclasts or during the siege of Haarlem.' Only the other shutter was preserved, being kept 'with the commander of the Order in the hall of the new building.' It had been sawn into two panels, so that obverse and reverse were now on view side by side. They showed a *Descent from the Cross*, and on what had been the outside 'some miracle or unusual incident.' What van Mander saw still exists. The paintings, identifiable with certainty from his words, are in the Staatsgalerie in Vienna (6, Plates 8, 9). Their provenance has been clarified in part. Some time prior to 23rd March 1635, the Low Countries made a gift of them to the king of England, together with three other paintings³. When the art collections of Charles I of England were scattered after his execution—i.e. after 1649 (41)—the paintings came into the possession of the Hapsburgs, directly or indirectly⁴. They can be shown to have been in the Imperial Museum in Vienna ever since 1777.

Since the surviving shutter is 139 cm wide—its height is 172 cm—the lost centre panel must have been at least 280 cm wide, and the whole altarpiece, with the wings open must have measured more than 360 cm, almost as large as the Portinari altarpiece. Geertgen's was thus one of the biggest altarpieces painted in the 15th century (51).

Both compositions have an air of terminating on the right side rather than the left, and we may therefore take the surviving shutter to have been the righthand one, which squares with the sequence of events, the Lamentation following upon the Crucifixion in the centre panel. The inside of the left shutter was presumably a *Christ Carrying the Cross*, or some other scene preceding the Crucifixion. Its outside

1. Cf. L. Balet, *Der Früh-holländer Geertgen tot Sint Jans*, The Hague, 1910, p. 5.

2. Cf. Dülberg, *Die Leydener Malerschule*, dissertation, Berlin, 1899, p. 11 f. Dülberg essays the construction of a Leyden school with Geertgen as its head, in contrast to a Haarlem school led by van Ouwater. There are not enough surviving paintings to support such a hypothesis.

3. Cf. Krafft, *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1852, p. 441 ff. The information is derived from a note on a piece of paper on the back of one of the panels.

4. Balet (*loc. cit.*, p. 81) takes issue with repeated and plausible suggestions, mentioned also in the catalogue of the Vienna museum, that the panels were once in the collection of Archduke Leopold William.

may have shown the death of St. John the Baptist, perhaps with incidents from his life.

Van Mander heard of paintings by Geertgen that had been in the possession of *Reguliers* in places other than Haarlem, but all these had perished in wars or iconoclastic excesses. In the great church at Haarlem, along the South wall, he saw a representation of this same church, by Geertgen's hand (15, Plate 15) 161.

The fact that this view of the church of St. Bavo survives, strangely enough, went all but unnoticed until 1910. It hangs to this day in the same place where it has always hung. It was Balet who drew attention to it, including a reproduction in his book. Stylistic analysis of this panel—which is certainly not overpainted, as Balet suggests—fails to confirm Geertgen's authorship positively, but neither does it rule it out. The painting is a fine work dating from the time when the church was built. It is an exceedingly curious work, the earliest known representation of its kind. The nature of the task, which required nothing further than faithful architectural detail, was scarcely calculated to reveal the painter's personality. Perhaps this unique painting was commissioned at the time when the church of St. Bavo had just been completed. On the other hand, it may have been done when the church was still abuilding and need not be viewed as a representation of the actual structure, finished to the spire. It may have been meant as a demonstration of how the planned or growing building would look. However that may have been, we do not seem to get anywhere with the dating either way. The church of St. Bavo is supposed to have been begun in 1471⁵, which would mean that the painting must have been done after that date 171. We do not know how long the construction took. The stylistic premises on which Balet bases his endeavours to date the painting as a youthful work by Geertgen I regard as doubtful.

The second work by the master that van Mander saw is thus also accessible to our inspection, essentially intact. Yet all stylistic analysis must still proceed exclusively from the first work, the two panels in Vienna.

Van Mander calls the *Lamentation* (6A, Plate 8) a Descent from the Cross, describing it only superficially and lauding the expression of profound sorrow. The group in the foreground is shown on a level piece of ground that is given the effect of extending into the distance. The head of the Saviour rests on the lap of his seated mother, who is surrounded by three women and by St. John, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. Farther back is an attendant elderly man whose features are strikingly portraitlike.

The body of Christ, light in coloration, serves as the dominant central focus, and forms part of a system of obliques that includes the arrangement of the various heads. The composition is asymmetrical, a predilection Geertgen shares with van der Goes, whom he knew, as we shall see; and it is constructed with a deliberate and almost pedantic firmness. The figures are solidly elaborated, put together almost like building blocks, and the dominant impression is one of vigorous three-dimensionality. The rectilinear folds, especially of the linen, seem like regularly distributed accents, for the most part vertical. Everywhere there are firm delineations—steep triangles, perfect circles—a tendency to achieve clarity by means of pure, geometrical forms. This spare, unitary character is sedulously maintained by keeping arms and hands close to the bodies, from the beholder's point of view.

5. Cf. Galand, *Geschichte der Holländischen Baukunst*, P. 444.

They are held in close constraint within the contours of the figures, and do not extend outwards.

The fully rounded figures on the level ground to the fore are frozen into a group; but in the middleground on the left, on a bare, rounded hillock, a story of action is successfully told in terms of flowing movement. Five executioner's henchmen are busily at work beneath the crosses. The cross on which Jesus was crucified stands bare. His body has been taken down, is in the devoted hands of the women, removed from the cruel torments of the executioners.

These have dug a pit up above, into which they are brutally pushing the body of one of the Thieves. Two of them are dragging a ladder towards the other cross, to take down the second Thief. A Pomeranian dog sits to one side, and silhouetted against the bright sky are three soldiers supervising the execution, one seated, the other two standing.

In the right middleground stands a steep crag with the open portal to the tomb that is to receive the sacred body. Between the round hill of Golgotha and Christ's rock tomb, a ravine affords a view of the gentle and smiling countryside in the background, with thickly set green trees, a glimpse of a body of water, another hill and distant mountains.

The painting makes a composite effect. One feels the seams, senses that the master was eager to do a variety of things, each of them well within his capacity, but had trouble in fusing them into one. The landscape stands on its own, the group of figures in the foreground is isolated, the vivid, detailed and realistic drama on the hill is again separate. The old man with the black cap, a portrait and a masterly one, is sharply set off from the stylized, puppetlike main characters.

In meeting this great challenge, the master was neither altogether free nor particularly inventive. He borrowed too of his most vivid figures from other contexts. Take the woman bending over the Saviour's head, wringing her hands. Shown in side-view, she lifts her left arm sharply towards her head, her two forearms forming a straight line, with the hands parallel to her upper arms. This highly effective, angular, vehement gesture goes back to Rogier van der Weyden—to the oft-copied Magdalen in the famous panel in the Escorial⁶. There the posture is dictated by the narrow confines of the shallow shrine. Here, in an altogether different context, this treatment, harking back to relief technique, leaves an exceedingly strange impression.

The kneeling man with the dark beard, hand on his breast in an attitude of appeal, is borrowed from the Monforte altarpiece of Hugo van der Goes⁷.

I must warn against drawing too sweeping conclusions from these observations. Geertgen can scarcely have been a student in Rogier's workshop—the time element alone is far too unlikely; but if he visited the Southern regions in his youth, he may have paid a visit to the Ghent master's studio. In terms of time this would have been possible. The Monforte altarpiece was painted between 1470 and 1480⁸. On the other hand, Geertgen may have come into possession of a drawing for or from the figure for the Monforte altarpiece, without ever having visited the South; and, as we shall see, he repeatedly availed himself of such a model. In any event, this influence exerted from the South remains remarkable, however the connection be explained. The superiority of the South is established, as is the Dutchman's slug-

6. Cf. vol. 2, Pl. 6. This was noted by A. Goldschmidt in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, vol. 26, p. 227.

7. Cf. vol. 4, Pl. xxviii.

8. Cf. vol. 4, p. 54, where I argue in favour of a late origin of the Monforte altarpiece.

gishness and need for models. Specifically Dutch originality and creative power must be sought in fields other than the invention of postures marked by drama and pathos.

The men and women who stand or kneel about the body of Christ are sincerely mournful. In mien and attitude, they express deep sorrow, as over the death of a beloved member of the family. Theirs is a simple, uncomplicated grief, without outbursts of despair, lacking the unique, symbolic, religious significance that attaches to this particular death and sorrow.

Despite the theme and the clearly discernible effort to treat it with gravity, despite the exotic dress and the borrowings, the overall impression is realistic and of this earth, indeed homespun.

The second picture (6B, Plate 9), which van Mander casually described as some kind of 'miracle,' tells what happened to the bones of St. John the Baptist, the relics of which were preserved and venerated by the Order of St. John. Scenes that follow each other in time are accommodated by separating them physically in space, taking advantage of depth. A rising plot of ground, subdivided by overcutting rocky outcrops, serves as a deep stage, on which various groups of figures, moving from the right and left in a zigzag pattern, are shown progressively foreshortened in a great variety of scale.

Historically speaking, the story begins in the left background, where the disciples are lowering the headless body of the Baptist into a stone sarcophagus at the behest of the Saviour, while Herod's wife disposes of the head separately in a rocky recess. The main scene is enacted in the foreground. The Roman emperor Julian has had the sarcophagus opened, is letting the Baptist's earthly remains be burned and ordering the ashes scattered to the winds. In the left middleground, behind the stone sarcophagi, stands a group of men, five of them identified as members of the Order of St. John by the insigne of the Maltese cross. Calm, solemn and detached, they bear a marked portraitlike character. They have appropriated two of the bones, and one is retrieving a third from the coffin. Farther back on the right, the five members bearing the sacred bones are seen striding towards their fortified, castle-like House, through the gates of which their clerical brethren are emerging to meet them as in ceremonious welcome. The picture consists of divergent parts, and aside from the felicitous spatial disposition no effort at all is made to achieve unity.

On the subject of this picture, and especially the portrait group in it, Alois Riegl has written some profound pages, well worth reading⁹. His wide-ranging historico-aesthetic conclusions, however, seem to me tenable only in part. He expresses astonishment that the brethren of St. John appear so detached, paying no attention to what is taking place; but what should they be noting? The grotesque incineration that occupies the foreground? Are we to believe that the brethren would really have appropriated the bones of St. John in the presence of the wicked emperor and his armed entourage? Nothing of the kind. The two incidents only seem to be simultaneous; and it is precisely the 'detachment' of the brethren, their calm and unruffled demeanour, that effects a plausible separation. We, as the observers, can see the whole story, but of the actors in it, each can see only what happens within his sector. The various parts of the picture remain in total ignorance of one another. The master felt their contrasting locations to constitute a separation in time. We

9. *Österreichisches Jahrbuch*,
vol. 13, 1902, p. 75 ff.

are called upon to fill in the missing elements. Some time after the bones were burned, members of the Order of St. John found a few forgotten bones in the sarcophagus of the patron saint and took possession of them.

The brethren portrayed, personally known to Geertgen, were, of course, not the actual participants in this incident, but merely stood in. They symbolized the original deed by taking and holding the bones. A distinction must be made, furthermore, between the five brethren marked by the Maltese cross—the same ones bringing home the relics in the right background—and the seven other men portrayed, who have no part whatever in the action. These seven are clean-shaven, with a single exception, a figure that has sometimes been identified as the painter himself. As Balet rightly remarks, disputing Riegl, Geertgen's commission was to immortalize his patrons by creating portraits of them. They appear in the customary rôle of donors, no different in aspect in an *Entombment* than in an *Adoration of the Kings*. Any effort to have these inserted portrait figures take part in the action with vehement expressions or dramatic gestures would have detracted from their dignity, distorted their features, lessened the 'likeness,' and thus defeated the portrait commission. The master had no occasion whatever to let himself be ensnared in such experiments.

Riegl with some justification regards this panel as the first Dutch *Doelenstück* and uses it as his point of departure for his psychological and aesthetic speculations in respect of the Dutch group portrait generally. What he neglects is the character of the challenge that was put to a painter in the 15th century. Before we can judge his performance, we must be clear on what it was he had to do. The Johannites wished for an impressive account of the origin of the treasured relics and of the pious deed of their predecessors. They wished, further, for the honour of pictorial perpetuation. Proud of their order, they put themselves in the place of their brethren who in ancient times had saved the bones of their patron saint; and the painter accomplished this task with naïve sincerity, to the best of his ability, as he was required to do.

What remains true—and here Riegl's remarks are in point—is that a specifically Dutch creative purpose begins here. The composition does carry the germ of the *Doelenstück*. Dieric Bouts and Gerard David, who inserted portrait figures in their Justice pictures in Louvain and Bruges, both came from Holland. Observation of individuality, as it is, is a Dutch gift, as is the propensity for democratic communion.

The effect of the St. John panel rests on the contrasts evoked by the divergent tasks. On the one hand, we have the solemn dignity of the Hospitallers, their plain dark garb, their sedate demeanour, their familiar portrait aspect, on the other, the colourful, barbarous appearance and grotesque bearing of the enemies of Christendom. We have salvaged the relics, the picture says, have them in our devout safe-keeping, despite the mindless and outrageous desecrations directed against the Baptist in pagan times. The spirit of civilized order and piety that dominated the Knights of St. John has vanquished and survived the barbaric savagery that indulges in spectacles and public mockery, that mounts a great display of power, imperial splendour and pseudo heroics against the bones of a dead man. Serene and enlightened men sensed that the whole event was no more than a blown-up sham, a travesty with comic overtones. Geertgen welcomed the occasion for accentuating exotic figures and costumes in the foreground, contrasting them with the peaceful

reason of the present, for pitting Caesarian delusion against the democratic spirit.

The imperial braggart is a bogeyman to scare children, with his ridiculously broad, crown-surmounted hat and his over long sceptre. His face consists of little more than a beard and a huge nose, reaching down to his mouth. The expression of his eyes is timid and silly rather than imperious. His forehead is low, like those of his companions—the slack and sluggish *roué* on the left, and the foppish dignitary who seeks to emphasize his importance by means of his voluminous robe with its stiff and ceremonious folds. For the rest, the *entourage*, except for a few portraitleike heads, is marked by zealous sycophancy. The two dull-witted henchmen at the left are frantically busy, the one, carrying a bellows, pointing to the fire, the other scattering the ashes from his shovel.

These 'authenticated' panels, all that remains of the *chef-d'œuvre* that presumably took up a substantial part of Geertgen's brief working period, constitute an incomparably auspicious point of departure for the stylistic analysis of his whole work. They gave him space, occasion and opportunity for creative endeavour of many kinds, leaving scarcely one of his capacities unexploited or concealed—the countryside, animals, the depiction of narrative, portraiture, ideal types, caricature, virtually the entire scope of his talent was here realized. Indeed, a study of this single work allows qualities to emerge with great clarity that must be considered as springing from the constant source of the master's personality, and that hold out the hope of our being able to identify other works by his hand in their light.

Yet we must not be misled by the pictorial mode of expression peculiar to this source. True, the same material keeps flowing from it; but we must not confuse the inner process of creation with a mechanical process. The creative personality is active. It receives material and processes it before reproducing it. It climbs upwards on rungs it has created itself. It never does the same thing twice. It has a choice only between creating something new or copying itself, between constantly changing or allowing its power to flag.

With this in mind, we still hesitate to set conclusive limitations to the dimensions of the master's work from the analysis of a single work; and we shall first assemble a few other works that are accounted his with a high degree of likelihood, to the end of apprehending the working of his talent, his active and mobile character. It is not enough to recognize characteristics in other pictures. Rather what we must do is to comprehend his qualities as causes, and to grasp their consequences within the flow of his spiritual development.

By arraying the works ascribed to the master with more or less assurance like planets about a sun, we shall fathom not only the distance of each satellite from the centre, but their relationship, one to another.

Since 1902, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin has owned a panel (12, Plate 14) that has been attributed to the master on purely stylistic grounds, an attribution that has never been called into question. This is saying a great deal, in view of the notorious scepticism of art historians and their well-known disputatiousness. It is a single panel, a composition complete in itself, not a portion torn from the larger context of an altarpiece—a small picture created for private devotions.

It shows the Baptist, the saint revered by the Order of St. John. Geertgen almost

certainly had occasion to immerse himself in St. John's fate, to ponder his character. The saint is shown outdoors, seated on a rocky ledge, in solitude, preoccupied with his own thoughts and cares. His head rests on his right hand, the elbow of which in turn rests on his knee. His left hand lies idly in his lap. His figure is shrouded in a long brown robe and a wide blue mantle. The soft, round contours are firmly closed, with only limited excursions, the whole impression being one of relaxed, ingathered contemplation—a profound and unequivocal effect that carries incomparable conviction.

St. John is not here the fearsomely lean ascetic, but more a youthful dreamer in aspect, smooth of face, with a vigorous head of hair and beard, a long, slightly flaring nose and arched brows, an angular figure, hunched and collapsed within the broad triangle of his tentlike garments. Misunderstood, turning from the world, suffering with his knowledge, aware of the burdensome destiny that awaits him, the Baptist has fled to the bosom of nature—not into the wilderness, but to the countryside in summer greenery, full of living things. He has sat down by a spring. The bright serenity of lush meadows and trees in full foliage contrasts with the melancholy of the saint in his garb of cool blue and brown. There is no trace of man and his habitations near by. What constitutes the novel pictorial element is the surrender to forest solitude peculiar to the lyricism of the North, the quest for solace from nature, organically blended with a legendary figure. Within the modern beholder, wise to Rousseau and romanticism, there stirs here an image of the everlasting innocence and perfection of nature, where knowing and suffering man is sensed as a jarring note, a sombre blot that should not be there.

In Haarlem, 150 years after Geertgen, lived Jacob van Ruisdael. In Haarlem—in the words of van Mander—landscape painting was cultivated at an early stage. True, Dieric Bouts, who also came from Haarlem, had already evoked the countryside into lyrical harmonies of form and colour, but Geertgen's advance upon his older fellow countryman is manifest. Bouts prefers to shape his landscapes in the background, placing his figures in front of them, off on their own. These Boutsian components are more firmly joined by Geertgen, and happily integrated in the case of the St. John panel. The various levels are not sharply marked off. The soft, rolling greensward rises gently, extending continuously into the distance. The eye is guided by the zigzag line of the brook and its banks. The horizon lies in the middleground. In form and colour, the vegetation counterbalances the figure, serving as the enclosing home of the dreamer lost in his thoughts. He has no eyes for the joy of summer in her prime. The picture is all of one piece, like a fabric in which contradictory and supplementary threads are woven together to create a lyrical yet dramatic mood.

In absent-minded lassitude, as though unobserved, the Baptist squats on his low ledge, arousing a smile of compassion in the beholder. His tall body is hunched over, bent double, offering a startling spectacle. As a rule, the 15th century knew only a seated posture suitable to the dignity of a throne. Here foreshortenings and overlappings of the body are deliberately put on display. The heavy woollen texture of the mantle falls away naturally in straight lines, for the most part triangular forms, while the fleecy under-robe stiffly encloses the body like a sack. The whole gamut of tangible form has been drawn into the contours of the figure, conveying

a full sense of the Baptist's passive state of mind, his isolation from the world, his total surrender to his own thoughts.

The Louvre has owned a *Raising of Lazarus* (5, Plate 7) by Geertgen since 1902. The attribution goes back a good while—to the estimable Renouvier, I believe—and has never been disputed. Our interest in this panel is measurably enhanced, since we have another *Lazarus* from the hand of Albert van Ouwater¹⁰. Yet when we compare the two pictures, we fail to find clear-cut confirmation of Geertgen's relationship with van Ouwater, as reported by van Mander. On the contrary, the personal character of the younger Haarlem master emerges sharply, his peculiarities and the advanced nature of his art.

Lazarus is here freed from his tomb not inside a chapel, as in van Ouwater's Berlin panel, but out in the open, in the courtyard of a castle, not unlike the painting by the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl¹¹. The assembled company includes men and women, a child and a dog, rather like a funeral party. The men stand straight and firm, their weight evenly distributed on both feet. The ground is seen from a somewhat higher vantage-point than in the Vienna panels. As on occasion in the compositions of Dieric Bouts and his followers, spatial depth is organized by architectural elements. A low wall encloses the scene at the back. Above it rises hill country with trees, buildings and water courses.

The figures stand like pillars, in every possible aspect, from the beholder's point of view, some in full-face, others in half-face or full profile, one with his back turned. This one serves to delimit his group at the front, enhancing the impression that these people have been caught at a casual moment of standing about. Van Ouwater had already introduced this motive, in evident pride at so much realism. Geertgen elaborates it further, clearly in a desire to please. What is emphasized is that we are clandestine witnesses to an event that is really taking place away from us, on its own. The participants pay no attention whatever to the viewer, and at the extreme this neglect is expressed by their turning their backs on us. And by facing away from us and directing their attention into the distance, they reinforce the illusion of depth.

Two figures are abruptly marked off from the stiffly upright men who are scarcely stirring—Lazarus and St. Peter. With some effort, the apathetic air that prevails overall is broken by the highly articulated and sharply foreshortened oblique figure of Lazarus rising from his sarcophagus, and by St. Peter leaning forward on his knees.

This dramatic animation has been achieved only with the help of borrowings. Van der Goes gave the prime impulse. Like the kneeling man in Geertgen's Vienna *Lamentation*, St. Peter is modelled after the king in the Ghent master's *Adoration*.

The kneeling sister of the risen man, shown in profile, with a weak chin, a short, pointed and slightly retroussé nose, and an overall air of vacuous amazement, is reminiscent of the women in the Vienna panel. In other respects too the connections between the *Lazarus* and the authenticated work are close enough. In my view, this halting and uneven composition must have been done at a rather early time, before the St. John altarpiece. Examination of the Paris panel is rendered difficult, because its state of preservation is variable. The important heads at the left—Jesus, St. John—have been clumsily restored. Well-preserved are the landscape, the kneeling woman, the donatrix, and, in general, the whole right side.

10. Cf. vol. 3, No. 34.

11. Cf. vol. 3, No. 74.

The Holy Kindred, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (10, Plate 12), is markedly different from the other works generally acknowledged as being by Geertgen. Balet describes it as a comparatively early work, and I think his instinct is right in this respect.

20 Van Mander might well have regarded this picture as another 'miracle of some kind.' In the literature, it is, curiously, designated *An Allegorical Representation of the Expiatory Sacrifice of Jesus Christ*. Balet's description and interpretation, however, are perfectly plausible. He sees in it nothing more than the family of Jesus. The deviations from iconographic tradition that have given rise to misinterpretations are highly characteristic of Geertgen's style. The Holy Kindred were enriched with certain legendary accretions. A blood kinship was invented between Jesus and several of the Apostles and St. John the Baptist. St. Anne had two husbands, besides Joachim: Cleophas and Alphaeus. To each husband she bore a daughter, and all were named Mary. Joachim's daughter married Joseph and bore the Saviour. The second Mary bore the apostles James the Less, Joseph the Just, Simon and Judas Thaddaeus. The third Mary bore St. James and St. John. Thus six of the disciples would have been his first cousins. Elisabeth, the Baptist's mother, was also accounted the Saviour's kin. Except for one apparently missing apostle (81), the calculation seems to come out even, for we count five women on our panel—Anne, Elisabeth and the three Marys—further, seven elder and younger men—the three husbands of St. Anne, the three husbands of the three Marys, and the father of St. John the Baptist—and, finally, seven children—five, in addition to Jesus and John, of whom three are identified as apostles by the symbolic attributes of chalice, saw and club.

We thus have here the same theme as in Quentin Massys's St. Anne altarpiece from Louvain, although without St. Elisabeth, without the Baptist's family. But how differently is it conceived! Massys spreads out the family evenly, symmetrically, at the same level—a solemn and, so to speak, official gathering of idealized figures, remote from any particular time or place. Geertgen feels the need for motivating the social occasion in its time and place. There is a certain fascination about the questions he leaves unanswered, coupled with a sense of irritation. His picture comes within a hair of being symbolic, or else genrelike.

The entire Kindred have gathered in a capacious church, one does not quite know to what end. A boy—the one with the bowed legs—is seen from the back, snuffing a candle behind the altar. He seems to be a member of the verger's staff. Precisely because all this seems to be proceeding quite casually, one is scarcely tempted to ask what is really going on and merely wonders at the idle family groups in their stiff poses. One senses that the master seeks to tell a story; but only in feeble ripples does he manage to overcome the immobility of the tableau vivant, mainly with nursery motives.

As for forms, Geertgen provides animation by changes of direction and differences in aspect, by the turning of heads and averting of faces. One child has his head bent forward so far that his face is quite invisible.

On the altar at the rear stands a sculpture in wood, *The Sacrifice of Abraham*. Geertgen may have thought this adornment suitable for a temple of the Jews, but he was at the same time typifying the sacrificial death of Jesus. The state of this

painting, by the way, is very uneven. Some portions of it have been crudely restored, notably the robes of the figures on the left.

In the well-preserved portions, Geertgen is at his best as regards the elaboration of detail, the deep luminosity of his pigments, and the play of light generally. The stiff and puppetlike appearance of some of the figures and the flat and rather weakly modelled faces with vacant expressions would be explained as signs of a relatively early origin.

The Nativity (1, Plate 1), in the National Gallery, London, was purchased from the von Kaufmann and Onnes collections. Next to the *St. John the Baptist* in Berlin, it is perhaps the work by Geertgen that is most pleasing and satisfactory beyond its art historical value. It is small panels with simple compositions that seem to have given the master greatest scope for combining his sense of realism with genuine feeling.

Bending over the newborn child, the Virgin is praying at night, safe in her secret shelter. Limiting himself to a single means of expression, gathering up his greatest strength in the smallest compass, Geertgen creates with the utmost consistency the reality of profound, mysterious, transparent darkness. The sole sources of light spring from within the picture. It spurts up from the child in his stone manger, lighting the Virgin's face. An angel shines in the night sky up above. The fire kindled by the shepherds gleams in the distance. At the left edge, in close, vertical array, are five angels. Joseph is at the upper right corner, ox and ass in the middle—all plunged into darkness. It is the light that provides the accents, invests the composition with rhythm, creating an effect that contains it and at once gives it a sense of freedom. Chiaroscuro is used in the manner of Rembrandt, to sanctify, solemnize and spiritualize the event, to concentrate upon its essence, the spiritual element, the core and meaning of the story. The viewer's eye is led to the Virgin's countenance with its expression of wonderment. The deep gloom has cancelled out anything that might interfere, all the crudely realistic details, everything that does not matter.

Whether or not Geertgen was the first to approach the Nativity in such a sense of gravity is quite beside the point. He, in any event, sensed the inward, lyrical power of expression of the night, casting her peculiar illumination into something almost like the strains of a folksong. Distilled from deep immersion into the Gospel story, the composition is neither tricky nor abstruse in effect. Geertgen was an acute and enlightened observer, intent upon truth and verisimilitude. He was human and compassionate, and his task was to represent the supernatural. Perhaps he felt instinctively that night is the last best refuge of divinity.

We have three *Adorations* by Geertgen's hand (9) and shall take advantage of the opportunity for comparison these panels afford us. Balet disputed Geertgen's authorship of two of them, wrongly, in my opinion; and he did not know the third. The picture in the Rijksmuseum (2, Plate 2) did not fit in with his views, presumably for no other reason than that it has been sharply cleaned and taken on a strangely thin and pale appearance. In respect of the triptych in Prague (4, Plates 4-6), also rejected by Balet, there is no such excuse. The work is in a good state of preservation. The third piece, which has entered the Oscar Reinhart collection in Winterthur from private hands in Holland (3, Plate 3), has not been widely considered

and indeed is almost nowhere mentioned. It turned up at the Utrecht exhibition of 1913, completely overpainted, and was not really taken seriously there. Since its successful cleaning, only a few connoisseurs have had the opportunity of examining it.

The two single panels, in Amsterdam and Winterthur, are related to each other, both having been painted at an earlier date than the Vienna panels, unless I am mistaken. Geertgen knew van der Goes's Monforte *Adoration*—or at least a copy or drawing of it—and it lingered in his mind. Echoes of the Ghent master's postures turn up in the Vienna *Lamentation*, as we have already seen, and also in the Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, as we shall see. Geertgen's Amsterdam panel is much narrower than the Monforte panel, a stiff composition with upright figures side by side, far removed from the close yet wide-ranging grouping in van der Goes's work. Yet its dependence on the latter is manifest, in the relationships of the figures to one another, in the isolation of the Negro king standing at the edge, in the position of the hand of the second king, and in the profile head of the partly hidden page. In the picture in the Reinhart collection, the master has again placed the dark-skinned king at the margin, but this time the second king, kneeling with his sword between his legs, has been borrowed from the Ghent model. Quite apart from its state, the Amsterdam picture is indeed on the meagre side, especially in the middleground, while the other panel with its genrelike embellishments, entertaining details and 'picturesque' figures in the background seems to be a freer and more personal statement and, in my opinion, a later work. Yet we are not entitled to assume that any considerable period of time separated the two works, especially since in the maturer composition the facial types of the Virgin and the Magi appear comparatively archaic, rather on the same level as the *Holy Kindred* in Amsterdam. It is not possible, by the way, to carry this analysis to a conclusion, for while, by and large, the *Adoration* in Amsterdam has been sharply cleaned, the Winterthur panel did not emerge completely unscathed, when the overpainting was removed, especially in the Virgin and the child.

The triptych at Prague was undoubtedly done some time after the two single panels. With the sprightly detail that fills its middle distance and background, it stands quite alone. In the types of the main figures, this picture somewhat departs from all the other works of this master—although by no means so far as to justify Balet's doubts about its authorship.

The perspective of the plot of ground has been realized with great success. The heads are vigorously modelled. The eyes are deep-seated. Vacuous and puppetlike aspects have been overcome. In the drawing, problems have been invited and mastered—for example, the three hands meeting at the child's arm. The extraordinary merits of this picture do not preclude the possibility that it is an imitation. Personally, I find no acceptable alternative to the assumption that this triptych is a late work by Geertgen's hand, done after the St. John altarpiece.

The master spins out the tale with evident relish. The travelling retinue of the kings fills the quiet village with tumult and crowds the countryside. Horses are being watered, are reflected in the river. A page-boy strides out mightily, a long spear across his shoulders. The tiny figures are shown in natural context with the locale, and their liveliness forms a relief to the gravity of the Epiphany. Yet the

large figures have lost nothing in calm and dignity. They look more intelligent, less trammelled than in the other *Adorations*. The heads are angular in cast, rather than seemingly turned out on a lathe.

The shutters are cramped, apparently cut down. The left one shows the donor, kneeling, and behind him St. Bavo with sword and falcon, the right one the donor's spouse, with St. Adrian, holding sword and anvil. St. Bavo, patron saint of Haarlem, is shown as a figure of stiff, military bearing, standing on his own, and is painted with evident respect for the three-dimensional solidity of an isolated figure.

The Utrecht museum owns a small panel in which Geertgen's style (7, Plate 10), although seen to be struggling vehemently against a hieratic theme, does not come to the fore with clarity. It is a curious composition, full of internal contradictions. The figures, merely adumbrating the illusion of space and solidity, are set against a gold ground. The open sarcophagus, in which Jesus stands with the great cross, extends obliquely towards the back. In the right corner, on this side of the stone coffin, is the Virgin at half-length, next to her the face of St. John, who is weeping. In the lower left corner, on the far side of the coffin, is Mary Magdalene, and above, filling the area, three flying angels, holding the instruments of the Passion.

The main figure enlists compassion with traditional means—Jesus, standing exhausted with buckling knees, his body covered with wounds. Other parts of the painting—the faces of the women, the hands of the Virgin—are equal to the master's best work, showing his mature style. Illusion begets its own demand. In the present instance, the Virgin's folded hands are so realistic, with such carefully observed shadows, that the absence of spatial elaboration overall is felt to be all the more vexing.

What was apparently expected of such a picture was formal display, an idealized aspect of frozen sculpture, so to speak. Yet Geertgen's composition, with its heavy slanting lines in a narrow field, leaves a restless and unplanned impression. The panel looks like a fragment, devoid of balance. Perhaps something is really lacking. The beholder is particularly defeated in the configuration of the main figure. The Son of Man, holding the heavy cross after his physical death, a spectacle of pity, but also of victory—Geertgen's vision, limited to what he could see and touch, was evidently unable to rise to this challenge.

Among the master's mature creations is the Madonna in half-length in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, a picture noteworthy for fleshly realism and unwonted scale—in fact, lifesize (8, Plate 11). Geertgen's formal idiom and choice of types are here most unequivocally manifested. His acute and knowledgeable observation of forms at rest here achieves the illusion of tangible solidity to a degree equalled by no other Netherlander in the 15th century. How paper-thin and unreal Memling's Madonnas, done at about the same time, seem by comparison!

The child's face is turned straight to the front and modelled with strong, deep shadows that gently blend into light, almost without reflections. The foreshortening is a bit overdone, as in the ear, for example, of which only the thinnest width remains visible. The eyes lie shallow in a face that is childlike in expression, yet imperiously pre-empting and fills space. One can almost see the invisible occiput, towards which the forehead arches, and one is tempted to ask how much this plump child weighs. His hands are masterfully drawn, especially the right one, which holds a

flower. The Virgin grasps her son's arm, similarly to the Virgin in van der Goess' Monforte *Adoration*.

There is a dearth of interior line in these firm and close-packed human forms that seem to be a little too large and made of some extremely dense material. The brilliant scarlet of the dress with its black shadows is reflected in the flesh tints and contrasts splendidly with the linen and the green foliage of the rather sombre landscape visible through the opening in the wall.

The Ambrosiana in Milan has a tiny Madonna, almost a miniature, which I regard as a work by Geertgen's own hand (9, Plate 11). I do not wonder that there is disagreement in this case, for experience shows that a sharp alternation in scale looms as an obstacle many connoisseurs seem unable to surmount. Within this limited compass, Geertgen's forms acquire a dainty and pointed character. To my way of thinking, however, no aspect of the master's art and skill is absent in this picture. In the collection of Prince von Leuchtenberg at St. Petersburg there used to be a noteworthy female portrait (14, Plate 15), which I put near Geertgen, judging from its style—admittedly I know it only from a mediocre reproduction¹². The painting is rounded at the top, with a painted frame, showing its subject at half-length, both hands placed together at the front of the body—all in all, a composition without example. On the frame below is a wavy banderole with the inscription: *Laudate eum in atrye coelorum et bestiae terrarum adorabunt Ecce venit deus et nascetur de pauperula clamabunt*. This text hints at a devotional panel with which the portrait was associated in some way, possibly in the form of a diptych. Fortunately, we are able to establish the identity of the sitter.

A drawing in reverse, from this painting or possibly a replica of it, appears in the Arras Codex (Plate 15) with the caption: *Anne bastarde de bourgogne 11 femme de Adolph de cleves et de Ravesteyn*¹³. These inscriptions in the Arras Codex are reasonably trustworthy, a large number of them having been confirmed as correct. Adolph of Cleves reigned from 1463 to 1493, and about 1488 he married the daughter of Anthony of Burgundy, who was born in 1468 and died in 1507. The portrait must therefore have been done about 1490 and, judging from the style, could be by Geertgen, although it is more probably a copy after Geertgen's original portrait (101). Elements that speak for Geertgen are the face, half of which is greatly foreshortened, the meditative expression, the shallow eyes, the form of the hands and the simple human individuality, quite different from the traditional portraits of royalty.

A major composition by Geertgen has survived at least in a copy (13, Plate 13), apparently done soon after 1550, which allows us to draw certain conclusions in respect of types and formal idiom in the original. This St. Dominic panel, which passed from Professor Thieme to the Leipzig museum, deserves closer attention than it has so far commanded. In his catalogue of the Bruges exposition of 1902 (where it bears the number 256), Weale gives it the title: *Institution of the Worship of the Rosary*. It may be either a single work or the centre of an altarpiece—the perspective of the tile pattern of the floor is centralized. It consists of four scenes, separated from one another by architectural elements. At the left stands the Virgin, a regal figure, with two angels who lift up and spread out her mantle. Together with the child on her arm, she is presenting a rosary to St. Dominic, who kneels before

12. *Les Trésors d'Art en Russie, 1904, Peintre Inconnu de l'École Française du x v. Siècle*. I have been unable to establish where this painting is at present.

13. Photo Giraudon No. 355.

her. At the extreme left, we have a glimpse into a chapel where the saint, the upper part of his body bare, prays before an altar. In the more spacious chamber on the right side, St. Dominic is giving a rosary to a lady of rank, identified from the fleur-de-lis pattern on her robe as a queen of France. A companion, a Dominican of younger years, is meanwhile handing out rosaries to members of the court, who stand in a throng at the extreme right. Outside, in the middleground, the saint is shown preaching.

25

Apart from its rather flat execution, this copy displays all the master's qualities—knowledgeable and objective spatial disposition, figures that stand up straight, one figure seen from the back, with his hand on his back, light and dark vertical stripes in sharp contrast, long, bony and sharply articulated fingers, short noses and, overall, the cutting edge of physical and spatial realism. We may with some assurance infer that there was an original, which was done about the same time as the Prague triptych.

Geertgen as a representative of the Dutch Character

26

Now that we have examined Geertgen's surviving oeuvre, we should have a clear picture of his personality before us. Supposedly born in Leyden, working in Haarlem, he was endowed with character traits we are prepared to accept as Dutch. If the mentality of the country seems less sharply marked in the work of his Haarlem predecessor, van Ouwater¹, this may be in part owing to the meagre store of pictures by van Ouwater that have survived. It seems fair to assume that Geertgen's own generation developed their local and ethnic character with greater self-awareness. For we are approaching the time when the North fell away from the South, politically, economically and in terms of religious faith.

1. Cf. vol. 3.

We are not likely to clear up the question of Geertgen's origins and where he was trained. Van Mander assures us that van Ouwater was his teacher, but comparative stylistic criticism is quite unable to confirm this assertion. We do know that Geertgen's studies were not altogether limited to the narrow and obscure seclusion of provincial Haarlem. Certain points of contact with the masters who dominated Ghent and Brussels have been noted². And certain conclusions have been drawn from these connections, in the eager quest to enhance the story of his life and round out things neatly, in the popular fashion. If Geertgen ever did visit the South, it would have been when he was quite young, perhaps as a journeyman. Setting the year of his birth at 1460, we would arrive at an apprenticeship between the years 1475 and 1480, when Hugo van der Goes was in his prime. If Geertgen was in Ghent in the latter year, he would have been young enough and old enough to receive powerful impressions from Hugo's sovereign creative powers. Yet only a few isolated motives from the work of the Ghent master seem to have captured his imagination; and so far as we can judge, only one of Hugo's compositions, the *Monforte Adoration*, was known to him. He might have got those motives from one or more drawings in his possession, without ever having left his home grounds.

2. Cf. p. 14, above.

The examples of Rogier and Hugo took effect at the point of least resistance, so to speak, the point where the Dutchman's own powers failed him. Geertgen was taken with dramatic postures that were foreign to his own inventive talents, and for which there was no precedent in his native traditions. We are reminded that Rembrandt, in the dramatic period of his youth, seems to have drawn strength from Rubens. The parallel is bound to be rather imprecise, yet it may serve a little to characterize Geertgen's relationship to van der Goes. However seriously the Haarlem master approached the problem of narration, however firmly he realized Biblical and legendary events and situations by means of sharp contrast, the groups he constructed still retain an aspect of still life. What he lacked was a thoroughgoing sense of flowing and unifying movement. The overall consistency of his paintings is determined more by the realism of the locale than by intangible threads among the various figures. In his more elaborate compositions, at least, the figures seem a little like figures set up on a chessboard. It is not without significance for his style that his small panels with a few figures or only one—like the *Baptist* in Berlin or the

Nativity in London—seem particularly satisfying. He found it easier to relate the figures to the space than to each other, and he was most successful in a creative sense, when he was able to observe and encompass the picture as a whole. He was motivated to give each organism its due in terms of form, colour, weight and its relationship in place, and this prevented him from investing groups of many figures with complex interrelationships. He did aspire to a sense of movement, yet his bodies seem to remain frozen in eccentric postures, following upon vehement action. The illusion of movement is never evoked. Geertgen's creatures stand for the most part on both feet, firmly upright, just as when they are seated they sit beyond any question. Their relationship to the ground, or to the seating surface, is convincingly expressed. This may mean more than appears on the surface. When I gave an account of the art of Rogier van der Weyden³, I emphasized that the very opposite was true of it, a characteristic of profound significance. The critical point, I remarked in my judgment of Rogier, lay where the figure, on the one hand, impinged upon the terrain or structure, on the other. Something is out of focus there. In elaborating the three-dimensional shell, whether of landscape or architecture, Geertgen is far more consistent and successful than Rogier, Memling and even van der Goes.

The Dutch were knowledgeable about nature, familiar with their homeland, and their common-sense approach called for clarity in respect of physical extension, a primary claim to which much was sacrificed. Geertgen constructs his stage, limits it on the sides and at the back, by means of walls, foliage, rocks, inserts his figures at a natural scale, in proper perspective, even with fairly consistent lighting. His landscapes share certain qualities with his interiors, particularly since they seem to be of measurable dimensions. The light in them is concentrated rather than diffuse, warm rather than cool, emitted from a source near by, indeed at times from what seems to be an artificial source. It is used to create strong contrast that subserves the modelling. There is nothing playful about it. It makes up its mind, yes or no.

Time and place come first in Geertgen's imagination. He is intent upon the feeling of locale and period, contrasting legend and miracle with the sober common sense of the present—especially in terms of dress, although in this respect he does not pass muster as a knowledgeable historian, but appears to our eyes as a teller of tales. The observer, however, is likely to err—here as in many other instances as well—in believing that what he sees is the 'fashion' of the master's own time. Indeed, we are likely to get into a vicious circle if we imagine we can learn about those fashions from such paintings. The master, to be sure, is unable to get away from the basic forms of contemporary dress, achieving 'exotic' effects only by modifying, embellishing and exaggerating what was familiar to him. His dress is more idealized and fanciful than appears at first blush. By intention and effect upon his contemporaries, Geertgen created historical pageants; and what is true of his dress also applies to his buildings and human types. To the master, Romanesque castles seemed exceedingly ancient, heroic and venerable, appropriate to prehistoric adventure (III).

His dramatic tension stems from the contrast between devout and sedate Christians, on the one hand, and unregenerate Jews or pagans, on the other. The wicked are made to be of alien blood, thick of hair, cruel, grotesque, laughable in their arrogance or bigotry. Democratic dislike of tyranny, inflated court ceremonial and sabre-rattling speaks from the manner in which they are seen. The sufferings of Jesus

3. Cf. vol. 2, p. 30.

and the saints take place in an age now happily past, when superstitious, obdurate and brazen peoples with exotic customs were abroad. Garish colour is blended into the edifying story as an entertaining element. The saints and the devout are fair in the sense of a personal Dutch ideal. Their brows are high and smooth, their dark eyes lie flat in their faces, their eyebrows are loftily arched, their noses are short and a little snubbed, their chins weak, their expressions trustful and compassionate, at times tearful and on the vapid side; and despite all the brocade and jewellery, they are at heart solid citizens. At least that is true of the women. The men reach out firmly with bony hands and long, mobile fingers, although their countenances show little will power.

The figures resemble pillars, or ninepins. Of all the possibilities for movement that are open to them, they seem most prepared to whirl about their own axis. The master shows them now from this side, now from that—and is fond of showing them from the back.

For spatial and three-dimensional realism, Geertgen used perspective with great care, something that could be learned and achieved with compass and ruler and measuring stick. He is particularly successful in making the ground, the area where his figures stand, appear convincingly on a level. The various subdivisions are connected by guiding zigzag lines. In the *Baptist* panel, for example, the eye is invited to range into the distance by the to and fro of the brook and its grassy slopes. In the more elaborate compositions, the figures are shown in subtly graduated scale, from front to back, from right to left and from left to right.

The projection in perspective of the human body and of the head in various degrees of foreshortening and overlapping is not susceptible to measurement and calculation—it must be observed and sensed. Geertgen, intent upon the relativity of form in keeping with the point of view, exaggerates on occasion, prefers to shift the perspective too much rather than too little, letting the foreshortened parts of his faces fall away over abruptly.

His manner of presenting what he has seen carries with it an almost crystalline organization of form, full yet spare, with little jutting-out. The stuff of his pictures is firm.

Portraiture calls for observation of individual shapes as they are given. If a nose be large and aquiline, the master will draw it thus, no matter how strong his inclination to paint small, upturned noses. If some of his propensities nevertheless prevail over the given forms, the results, deeply rooted in his character, should be highly revealing. It is with this in mind that we must examine his portrait heads. In their alternation of knife-edge surfaces and rounded portions, sharply illuminated, they have the effect of stereometrical solids. Mouths are drawn as though with a ruler, with limits of mathematical finality and purity.

Once we are reasonably well-acquainted with the master's goal and route, we are entitled to believe he must have been closest to his goal towards the end of his active life, the more so since he died young. We are thus prepared to bring chronological order to his surviving works. If his overall development was consistent in peeling the human body more and more away from the picture surface and giving it fully rounded freedom in space, we can say that he traversed a respectable distance on this road.

His countryside is hilly and covered in fresh foliage. The green leaves, through which the white light of the sky shines in patches resemble a pierced wall.

There is a strong sense of 'once upon a time' in Geertgen's work; yet the immediate presence of sacred and divine figures, breathing our own air in an ambience of earthly light and space makes church doctrine seem familiar, as in a translation of the Scriptures into a vulgar tongue. With such an approach, the protecting veils tend to fall away. This was a language the people could understand, against which they could even protest; and indeed, in the time to come church convention was to be loosened by rationalist objection, individual view, personal interpretation, sectarian spirit. Orthodoxy had been wise in insisting on the injunction: Thou shalt make no graven images.

Geertgen assuredly had the gift of capturing individual form as it appeared at sustained rest. He was born to be a portraitist, and the series of likenesses in the *St. John* panel at Vienna display sovereign mastery. Alas, we have no individual portraits by his hand, whether because he was never in the way of such commissions or because any such paintings have perished.

In principle Geertgen's technique as a painter did not significantly differ from that of his contemporaries in the Southern Netherlands. Yet the specifically Dutch qualities in his character, at which we have hinted, did determine his brushwork, giving it growing freedom. He could paint smoothly or roughly, accurately or casually, with broad, aquarelle-like strokes or dotting in impasto, in keeping with his format, the figure scale, the theme he was observing, the variations in emphasis that commanded his empathy. Always, however, he painted with fire and temperament. The earliest stirring of the loose individuality Dutch painting took on in the 17th century can be sensed in Geertgen's manner of using pigments.

The Dutch character was to express itself richly enough in the fertile output of that century, but its manifestations are too varied to lend themselves to easy formulation in a few sentences. Still, looking at it with some detachment—in its average rather than inspired examples—one retains an impression of secularism devoid of pathos, of modest, affirmative acceptance of things as they are, of joy in home and hearth, of intimate knowledge of the environment.

Pictures were wanted for their own sake, not as decoration, not as symbols, not for show—for their own sake in a dual sense: first, because the visible object was honoured; and second, because the skill in reproducing it was held in esteem. The Dutch character reached all the way from optimistic Philistinism tinged with a naïve sense of humour to deepest spirituality. Everything centred upon observation, rid of all formal conventions; and this strengthened the spirit of individualism, creating the broadest range of pictorial forms and approaches. Nature was grateful for true allegiance, rewarding painters from her abundance.

Dutch painting flowered in the 17th century in political, economic and religious circumstances with which we are familiar. Race and nationality played their part in this, indirectly, by helping to bring about those circumstances, and directly, by taking on concrete form in the creative output; but race and nationality are not constant and enduring forces; they become transformed in mutual interaction with the circumstances of history.

It is precisely at those points in the art of the 15th century where we come upon

the kind of relationship with the visible world that triumphed and broke through to freedom in the 17th century that we may identify the Dutch character in embryo.

If we view Geertgen as one of the progenitors of the Dutch School of the 17th century, we must not neglect to add that Jan van Eyck was in turn his predecessor. This is not to say that Geertgen learned directly from Jan van Eyck, but rather that the profound concord between the two in respect of their relation to the visible must be read as an outgrowth of their common stock.

Geertgen's Followers—Individual Dutch Works of His Time

31

A number of years ago, I accepted as part of Geertgen's oeuvre a diptych in the museum at Brunswick (16, Plates 16, 17), not without dispute on the part of Balet and perhaps other connoisseurs as well. My opinion on this subject has somewhat changed from what it was. In an excellent state of preservation, this hinged altarpiece, executed with a happy sense of light and neatness, is small not merely in scale but in also in style. The left panel shows a well-ordered group comprising the Virgin and child with St. Anne, the right one the donor, a Carthusian monk, with a female saint, and its reverse the standing figure of St. Bavo in a wall niche. The sainted knight, shown with sword and hunting falcon, was venerated in Haarlem as well as in Ghent. In this instance his presence points to Haarlem, Geertgen's town. The two halves of the open altarpiece share a single space. A low, grasstopped wall, running parallel to the picture surface, extends across both panels, separating the foreground from the middleground. St. Anne is seated on it, the Virgin and the child on the flower-strewn lawn in front of it. The kneeling monk and the saint are also in front of it. Behind this barrier stretches the bare ground of a castle courtyard, terminating in a wall, at each end of which, on the right and left, rise buildings. Above this wall, in the middle, a hilly countryside is seen. In all these distances the orientation of the picture surface is maintained, enhancing the sense of ease that issues from this cultivated garden spot. The pleasant summer air in this enclosed property, together with the symmetry of the figure composition, combines with the bright, decorative colour to create an overall impression of serenity and extraordinary harmony in this devotional picture. We have encountered castle and monastery courtyards, organized in this fashion as scenes and backgrounds, in the paintings of Dieric of Louvain and his followers; and we are entitled to regard this deliberate stratification of space as a tradition of Holland, of Haarlem. In the Brunswick diptych, however, the mood of the locale is perhaps richer than in any similar painting.

Taking the totality of Geertgen's work as a standard, one might call the Brunswick diptych thin, delicate, smooth, precious, relaxed. Any effort to class it as a youthful work by the master is bound to fail. The panels lack something that seems inseparable from Geertgen's personality. The fabric of the garments is seen three-dimensionally, but it lacks resolute firmness. The faces are monotonous and sedate, without the elemental power peculiar to the master. The coloration is flowery and cool, a little on the sweet side. The hands are not as long, bony and articulated as usual.

My change of heart in respect of the Brunswick diptych was caused not least by the fact that I became acquainted with an altarpiece, now broken up, which is stylistically close to the diptych, although somewhat weaker and therefore more difficult to class with Geertgen's oeuvre. This altarpiece is composed of the following parts:

a. An *Annunciation* in the Tate Gallery, London (on loan from Mr. Burrell—44.5 × 36 cm, 17, Plate 18).

b. A *Nativity* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (No. 940B, Hoogendijk bequest—45 × 35 cm, 18, Plate 18).

c. A *Presentation* in the Jones collection, Minneapolis (J. N. auction, Paris, 1923—46 × 35 cm, 19, Plate 18).

32

These three panels belong together as the remnants of an altarpiece of the Virgin, which has its origin somewhere near Geertgen and is particularly closely related to the hinged altarpiece in Brunswick. If one clings to Geertgen's authorship of the Brunswick work, one would have to suggest that the now-scattered altarpiece was done in his workshop. On the other hand, if one thinks of a student and follower of Geertgen—as I am now inclined to do—the diptych may be viewed as a carefully done and particularly successful work by this follower's hand, while the fragmentary altarpiece of the Virgin represents a mediocre and superficial work.

The relation between the two works is quite clear. The infant Jesus in the *Presentation* completely resembles in configuration and expression the child in the Brunswick picture, standing on his mother's lap. The painter who reveals himself in the altarpiece of the Virgin was an adroit student of Geertgen who had modified the forms he had learned in an empty, smooth, unexceptionable direction.

There is another work I think may be ascribed to him, one done with more intensive and concentrated power. This is the two shutters from an altarpiece of the Passion¹, a *Taking of Jesus* and an *Entombment*, formerly the property of the Count of Valencia in Madrid, and subsequently given to the Brussels museum (20, Plate 19).

1. Kronig (*Les Arts*, March 1909) gives this work to Geertgen.

The outsides of the two altarpiece shutters, rather casually painted and agreeing in dimensions with the Brussels Passion panels, entered the Amsterdam art market in 1920 from private hands in England (21, Plate 19). They show two saints in unadorned stone niches quite like the St. Bavo in Brunswick: a youthful saint, Valerian (Valeman) by the inscription, and St. Cecilia—both of them graceful, even elegant figures. The drapery folds in the St. Valerian are along very similar lines as in the St. Bavo, but more superficially executed. I do not rule out the possibility that this pair, St. Cecilia and her bridegroom, represent the outsides of the Brussels panels.

A curious male portrait that came to my knowledge in 1926, when it was with an art dealer in Amsterdam, fits into this circle (31, Plate 23). It had turned up shortly before at a London auction. The sitter, in half-length, is half-turned to the left, his left hand on his sword hilt, while his right hand shoulders a strange weapon, a stick or club that is bent at the top and ends in a knob. Wide-open, black eyes stare from a light-coloured and vacant face. The head and the position of the eyes lack assurance in construction, yet the total impression is interesting on account of its individuality, even though this element is captured only in outline.

We have now the emergence of a painter who was presumably trained in Geertgen's workshop, like the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, but who stands out more sharply in sharing Geertgen's personal note. I call him the Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin. I identify three of his works, to wit:

1. A triptych with a *Virgin and Child* as the centrepiece, a *St. Christopher* as the left shutter, and a *St. George* as the right, in the museum at Antwerp (23, Plate 20).

2. A *Madonna* in half-length, with St. Michael and a clerical donor, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (24, Plate 20).

3. *An Ascension of the Virgin*, with a donor couple, in the Provincial Museum at Bonn (25, Plate 21).

Stylistic comparison leaves no doubt of this master's relationship to Geertgen. Analysis of any part—e.g. the face of the Virgin in the Berlin panel—reveals that he learned understandingly from Geertgen and from no one else. The Virgin's head is half-turned. The forehead is high, the eyebrows faint, the dark, slightly slanted eyes lie shallow in the face, the nose is short and sharply upturned, the chin weak. A strand of hair trails in front of the half-covered ear. The expression is rather vapid and self-pitying—all in all entirely in keeping with Geertgen's ideal of feminine beauty. There is actually a slightly crooked aspect to this face, because of the exaggerated foreshortening of the side that is turned away. The sharply lighted, three-dimensionally observed drapery, the landscape with its body of water, the unruly child, in vehement movement—all these too are in the spirit of the master. Yet these panels cannot be considered copies, nor, for that matter, works from Geertgen's own workshop. Rather are they the work of a creative personality that was quite autonomous, up to a certain point. This painter neglected some of the qualities of his preceptor and exaggerated others—almost caricatured them. He startles us with his bold and exuberant motives, even while he is wanting in the consistent and objective treatment of space. He seems to toy with his teacher's accomplishments, being propelled towards mannerism and ornamentation, proceeding less from nature than from the style Geertgen had developed. He is weak, by comparison, in projecting the illusion of depth, not only because he was less skilled in a formal sense, but because the shadows in his flesh parts show reflected lights.

This master departs from Geertgen's spare containment, painting limbs and elements that are thrust out, like the wings of his angels, the corkscrew curls that stand out stiffly from the heads in star shape, and the tall crown on the Virgin's head. In place of Geertgen's tranquil wall surfaces he puts decorative Gothic metalwork, scrawny and almost like lace or gossamer.

Geertgen's forms, firmly rooted in space, he dissolves into a kind of gridwork that extends in only two dimensions. His angels with their luxuriant hair, like wigs, combined with narrow eyes, are droll and almost comical in aspect.

The Berlin panel, relatively quiet, was probably done before the other two pictures. The Antwerp triptych, amusing, two-dimensionally decorative, sharply lighted, with exaggerated postures, is probably the latest. In any event, it is the most personal and provocative of this master's works.

Two excellent panels, of indubitably Dutch origin, to judge from their close relationship to Geertgen, and manifestly by the same hand, allow us to perceive the personality of another master who flourished about 1500—possibly a student of Geertgen, certainly a follower. I call him the Master of the Figdor Deposition, and I identify all his peculiarities also in a *Martyrdom of St. Lucy*, which has gone to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam from the Lippmann collection (27, Plate 21).

The first thing that startles the viewer in the *Vienna Deposition* (26, Plate 21) is the element of bodily mobility. The two Thieves are shown in gymnastic, almost acrobatic poses, lashed to the branches of tall tree trunks rather than to carpentered crosses, their limbs savagely distorted. The body of Jesus is being lowered from the cross by three men on three ladders, a difficult operation shown graphically and

with evident interest. In his propensity for physical action and dramatic postures, this painter departs from Geertgen's style in the same direction as the Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin. St. John and the six women who kneel, stand and sit as they await the lamented body are marked by conspicuously large heads and narrow shoulders. They are almost dwarflike in stature and of pathological delicacy. Their foreheads, especially, are very wide and lofty, their chins small, their hands for the most part short, their expressions sentimental. The drapery curves in sweeping folds. The landscape in the middleground is richly elaborated in the manner of Geertgen. The men have cunningly curled hair and rather theatrical beards, but seem at heart young and sensitive, resembling children who have dressed up to perform a tragic play.

Two scantily composed *Crucifixions* in Utrecht (29, Plate 22) and Amsterdam (28, Plate 22), replicas of about equal merit, must be associated with the works of the Master of the Figdor Deposition, although they are of small significance. The *Crucifixion* in the Utrecht museum comes from the church in Naarden. Oddly enough, these panels, done about 1500—and a *Nativity* in the Provincial Museum at Bonn (30, Plate 22) must be included with them—agree in many of their traits with a series of *Crucifixions*, which are generally ascribed to Jacob of Amsterdam (121). These compositions of many figures are in Utrecht, the Johnson collection, Barnard Castle, and the Rijksmuseum. They were done about 1510, and we shall have occasion to discuss them later. I merely mention the connection here, and venture the hypothesis that the Master of the Figdor Deposition, who had been under the influence of Geertgen, moved to Amsterdam, where he, in turn, influenced the generation of painters beginning about 1500.

An *Adoration* that turned up on the Munich art market in 1921 (32, Plate 23) looks like a copy after Geertgen. In composition, types, drapery and landscape it agrees closely with the surviving *Adorations* by Geertgen; but its quality lags so far behind that only a painter who was essentially little more than a copyist or imitator can be considered its author. How little is left to us, by and large, of the Dutch art of the 15th century! And how much of this little is associated, in one way or another, with Geertgen! The influence of this master extended deeply and widely; and this is a surprising thing, considering that he died so young, according to van Mander's report.

His broader influence includes a *Holy Family* in the Cologne museum (33, Plate 23), a Dutch devotional picture that records homespun intimacy and comfortable family life. The motives are not new, but what is remarkable is the way the painter lingers over the meals. A table is shown to the fore, in steep perspective. Spread out over it in orderly array and explicit detail are dishes and crockery, loaves of bread, butter, a pitcher, a bowl of gruel, a pear, a salt cellar. Joseph is cutting a slice of bread. The observational approach lies in the direction of genre and still life. The configuration, expression and turn of Joseph's head are wholly in Geertgen's style, but the picture—which is not in a perfect state of preservation, by the way—cannot be ascribed to him. The bodies are too thin, the drapery folds too rounded.

Four panels with female saints (34, Plate 24) represent the rather crude work of one of Geertgen's pupils. They were at one time in the James Simon collection, but must now be looked for in several different places.

Likewise the work of a Geertgen follower is an altarpiece composed of three small panels, sold by Muller in Amsterdam in the René de la Faille de Waerloes auction (35, Plate 25). On the left is the Virgin with two female saints, on the right the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, at the top the Almighty. I saw one of these panels—the Virgin with the saints—again at the Bachstitz Gallery in The Hague. Geertgen's followers, especially the weaker ones, seem to prefer a bright, sharp, varied coloration, following a trend first displayed in the Brunswick diptych.

A very curious painting hints at the point where Geertgen impinges upon van der Goes. I refer to the wide *Adoration* in the Cook collection at Richmond (36, Plate 24). The figures are shown to the knee on a panel of unusually low height and large breadth. The architectural perspective is such that the group seems to be high above us. This point of view is carried out with remarkable consistency for the bodies and heads as well. The group comprising the Virgin and the eldest king is pressed into a triangle almost by brute force. The execution is not quite as good as the conception. Unless it be a copy after Geertgen, this unique composition must be the work of some master who was close to him; and it confirms our favourable judgment in respect of the lively power and new pictorial ideas that were stirring on Dutch soil towards the end of the 15th century.

In our opinion, the few surviving specimens which chance saved from the assaults of the iconoclasts serve as mere signposts. We are under the necessity of drawing inferences from them in respect of what has been lost, and in this process we must not overlook nor neglect the slightest pointer. In particular, we must consider those masters who, like Dieric Bouts and Gerard David, moved from Holland to Brabant or Flanders. Gerard David, for example, worked in Bruges, and we shall have to examine his art with a view towards demonstrating in what measure it holds elements calculated to confirm, expand and enrich our view of Dutch art.

It is impossible to stick to a sharp dividing line between the 15th and 16th centuries, for in the case of many works we shall be unable to determine with any assurance whether they were done before or after 1500. Even when the date is established, the total work of a painter who did pictures early in the 16th century may have to be classed with the 15th century. Jerome Bosch, for example, remained active deep into the new century. Early in that new age, moreover, the number of Dutch artists begins to increase, and with them the number of surviving specimens. All manner of works turn up in Leyden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. We shall come to comprehend masters like Engelbrechtsen, Jacob Cornelisz and Jan Mostaert, whose apprenticeship reaches back into the 15th century, as heirs, disciples and carriers of tradition, and we shall be able to draw certain conclusions in respect of their progenitors. This is true as well for a number of anonymous masters and individual works, calculated to fill out our meagre view of the older art, whether these works were done before 1500 or after.

I shall now proceed to draw attention to a number of pictures, endeavouring to gather them into groups, which, for one reason or another, I regard as Dutch, and which seem to fall within the period here delimited.

One area that is highly instructive and must not be neglected is the study of woodcuts for books. Like the painters of Southern Germany—although not in the same degree—those in Holland devoted their talents to illustration. It is no accident that

Haarlem has some claim to disputing with Mainz the glory of having invented the art of printing. The democratic urge to reproduce and broadcast the printed word and its pictorial illustration is peculiarly Germanic and began to stir in Holland at an early time. The country was unable to hold on to the creative resources it brought forth. Printers, with the migratory instinct peculiar to them, spread from the Middle Rhine over all the cultural regions of Europe within a short time; and Dutch painters may have wandered far and wide in the service of the printing craft. I have no doubt whatever that the Lübeck Bible of 1494 was illustrated by a Dutchman; and these woodcuts, reflecting the derring-do of mariners, point to a great painter from whose hand we possess no paintings. We do not meet, in paintings, his like in sovereign conception, composition and pictorial approach far ahead of his time. Proud, self-contained and monumental—particularly when compared with the Master of the Virgin among Virgins—the author may have been a young man about 1494; and if his genius failed to exert any influence on the further development of painting in the North, the explanation may be that he died young.

The Johnson collection in Philadelphia (37, Plate 25) includes a painting of major significance done about 1490, which stands quite alone. It shows two groups outdoors, two teachers with their train of followers meeting and passing at some distance from each other. In the left foreground is St. John the Baptist, in the right middleground Jesus. The Baptist is pointing to Jesus, and his disciples are looking towards the Saviour, who strides solemnly at the head of the Apostles.

The invention is dramatic and fraught with meaning, and as far as I can judge entirely autonomous. The casual and natural character of the groups harks back to Geertgen in that it is enhanced by two figures, seen from the back, who round off the group of figures to the front. One of these, in the middle foreground, is sharply emphasized. Although in terms of the narrative he is clearly a subsidiary person, he becomes the most prominent in compositional terms. The rhythm of this painting is lighter and more flowing than in Geertgen's works. Perhaps most closely related to it are the famous woodcuts of the *Chevalier Délibéré*, the book published in Gouda about 1488² (Plate 130) (113).

These astonishingly sovereign woodcuts are the work of a Dutch draughtsman, in all likelihood a painter, whose absence from the store of surviving pictures represents one of the most regrettable gaps in our knowledge—this time, exceptionally, a gap of which we are aware (14). The picture in the Johnson collection is the only remnant known to me of a lost school of art, probably centring in Gouda, upon which those woodcuts are based. We cannot, in fact, properly interpret the fabrics of the garments in the woodcuts, unless we endeavour to translate them into the language of painting, when we get configurations not unlike those seen in the painting in the Johnson collection.

We may here postulate the existence of a painter of fair talent, active about 1500. In his observation of light and dedication to chiaroscuro, he would seem to have developed a specifically Dutch character. I sense the inchoate power of this master especially in a squarish panel from the Lippmann collection, now owned by Privy Councillor Kalkmann (38, Plate 26). It shows the Virgin and child with St. Anne, an angel, St. James in the garb of a pilgrim and a monk in white habit as the donor, all in full-figure inside a low porch. The composition is heavy-handed and uneven,

2. Monograph No. 5, by F. Lippmann, in the illustrated series issued by the Bibliographical Society, London, 1898.

the draughtsmanship clumsy, but the warm coloration is provocative in its contrasts of light and dark and its massed, integrating shadows. The great head of St. James is impressive and the yellow strawhat in his hand stands out. The background landscape is luminous, the hands are broad and short, the soft woollen fabrics heavy. The face of the Virgin is awkward and mannered, her expression bearing a slight squint. The emotional impact lies mainly in the colour.

By the same master is the Madonna with a huge, radiating halo in the Utrecht museum (40, Plate 26), highly effective in colour scheme, discussed by Dülberg³; and also the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, in the same collection⁴ (39, Plate 26). The head of St. Anne in this latter painting is shaped similarly to that in the painting once in the Lippmann collection. Rather more archaic is a *Virgin in Glory* in the van Welie collection, The Hague 1151, which belongs in this circle, if indeed it was not painted by the same master (Plate 27). Weaker in character, within the frame of reference of the panels here assembled, is a *Holy Kindred*, which was formerly in the Lanz collection at Amsterdam (41, Plate 26).

Another work, a graceful triptych auctioned in Paris in 1913, pleases with its abundance of figures of young women (42, Plate 27). The centre panel shows a *Visitation*, on the right is a female saint with an aspersion and a short pestle, on the left St. Ursula with her companions, on the reverse of the shutters an *Annunciation*, in grisaille. This is clearly a Dutch altarpiece, a little in the style of the Cologne painters, the women short-nosed and weak-chinned, reminiscent of Geertgen's idealized type. The excessively slender turrets are characteristic of this master's manner. The author of this graceful altarpiece may already belong to the generation that began its work early in the 16th century.

3. *Frühholänder in Utrecht*, Pl. 3.

4. Dülberg, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 5.

The Master of the Virgin among Virgins

38

Beside Geertgen I would range a master whose true name remains hidden, but whom art historians, at a loss for anything better, have given the awkward and graceless name of the Master of the Virgin among Virgins, from a painting in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, in which the Virgin is shown seated within a circle of four female saints, Barbara, Catherine, Cecilia and Ursula. Since this pictorial theme is by no means rare, no particular significance attaches to the name. The panel in Amsterdam, moreover while a characteristic work by the hand of this master, is scarcely suited to serve as a paradigm or point of departure, not least because it is, at least in part, disfigured by additions made by a restorer. There is, indeed, no dearth of pictures that testify more clearly and impressively to the art of this master, who seems to express himself more personally and powerfully in representations from the Passion than in typical devotional panels.

I associate the Master of the Virgin among Virgins with Geertgen and Jerome Bosch for no other reason than that all three painters were contemporaries and probably fellow countrymen as well. Each of them, nevertheless, stands alone in marked originality. One would have to do violence to the observed facts to construct a relationship among them, to force an account of these personalities into a single, overall picture, limited in time and place.

The fact that they are contemporaries is scarcely in dispute. Indeed, their birth dates, in all three cases, must be put within the period between 1450 and 1470. Their allegiance, on the other hand, remains a matter of some doubt. Geertgen worked in Haarlem, in the Duchy of Holland, the core around which the present Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed. The scene of Bosch's work was a town in North Brabant, near the old borders of Holland, now politically part of the kingdom. The Master of the Virgin among Virgins lived in Delft (a fact for which we shall adduce plausible evidence), that is, in the South of the ancient Duchy of Holland.

The figure of this master began to take on form at the loan exhibition in Bruges in 1902, at which the study of early Netherlandish painting received its strongest impulse. Actually, no more than two works by his hand were shown there—the *Crucifixion*, from the Glitza collection in Hamburg (56, Plate 38); and the *Lamentation*, from the LeRoy collection in Paris (60, Plate 40). In my essay on this exhibition¹, I already ascribed several other pictures to this master². I substantially enlarged his oeuvre in an article that appeared in 1910 in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (vol. 31, p. 66 ff.). I now claim to have identified 20 panels by his hand, including two altarpieces of several parts.

Outstanding in terms of sheer size is a triptych with a *Crucifixion* as the centre-piece, preserved in the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (55, Plate 37), while a carefully executed altarpiece with many representations in the Salzburg museum (51, Plates 32, 33) tells a great deal about the artist. If I were challenged, however, to select a prototype in which the master's style is most impressively exemplified,

1. *Repertorium für Kunstwerke*, vol. 26, 1903, p. 168.

2. I then mentioned a panel, a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, No. 339 at the Charles Stein auction, Paris, which I should now like to exclude in this connection.

I should choose, from the sequence which stylistic criticism has established, the *Lamentation* in Liverpool.

This Liverpool panel (58, Plate 39), modest in size, is distinguished by its concentrated gravity, characteristic originality and austere sense of unity. The composition is entirely the master's own. He finds the most felicitous inspiration when it comes to expressing grief and mourning—indeed, this is a peculiar mark of his character. The countryside is desolate here, with hills jutting upwards at the sides—on the right the Mount of Calvary, like a lofty sand pile of gentle and sweeping outline, on the left a steep outcrop, overgrown at the top. The figures oppose each other in two groups and scarcely seem to have any connection with the locale. The hills, at some indeterminate distance from the clustered figures in the foreground, merely serve as an empty relief background, intermediate in brightness, from which the figures stand out, the flesh tints pale and luminous, the garments deep and warm in coloration. The hill contour with its deep trough near the midline emphasizes the division of the figures into two groups. So sharp and uncompromising is this separation that it may stem in some measure from the custom of distributing such representations across two altarpiece shutters. Yet this firm organization into two self-contained groups constitutes not merely a utilitarian shutter symmetry but a meaningful, dramatic inspiration. There are four figures on each side. Those on the left—the Virgin, St. John and two holy women—seem rooted to the spot, huddled together. On the right, bearing the Saviour's body, are Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, with Mary Magdalene.

A phase of action has been chosen, a moment between the Deposition and the Lamentation. The men are about to put down the sacred body. The Virgin is supported by St. John, her eyes rivetted on the dead son who is being brought to her. This tense, frozen moment will be over in a trice. The Virgin will throw herself upon the Saviour's body, the two groups will blend and become interlaced.

The composition is impressively organized in terms of continuous vertical accents—on the left the steep profile of the crag and another line, no less steep, plunging from the Virgin's head to the extended foot of St. John; and on the other side of the picture, softer and wider, the counterbalance that ends in the Saviour's dangling arm. Corresponding to the stiffly and unnaturally extended foot of St. John, we here find the leg of one of the old men.

The figure groups look as though they were grown together, while their heads diverge almost centrifugally. There is little individuality in the faces, which, on the contrary are rather monotonous in configuration and expression. It is as though the master had been thinking of a strange, prehistoric race, sick unto death, feeble of body and large of head, with curious haircuts and half-mad eyes, unswerving in their grief, pursuing their errands with gloomy innocence. Nothing is allowed to detract from the devout ritual, no show, no artifice, no trace of worldly grace or glamour.

The heavy heads are high of brow and low of chin, a disproportion that yet fails to convey the impression of intellectual power coupled to physical frailty. The tiny chins are prognathous, the mouths are dark and narrow clefts, turned downwards at the corners, the noses are anything but prominent, their sides barely indicated, the dark, lack-lustre eyes not very deep-seated, the temples wide, the cheekbones

weak; and all these features combine into an almost animal-like aspect. One reason why the foreheads look so wide and high is because the hairline lies far back, as though shaved off. Skulls emerge bare and spherical. The curious, decorative hoods of the women, also pushed back, cover sparse hair while leaving the foreheads free.

The store of pictures from which it is our task to form our view of this master has agreeably grown. Unfortunately, it continues altogether wanting in clues that might point to the time and place in which they were done. Nowhere is there an inscription. Nowhere is there a hint that might link up with some document. No work is in its original place. No donors are shown, whose dress or arms might point to an identity. Armorial bearings appear in only one picture, an *Annunciation* in the von Auspitz collection at Vienna (45, Plate 29). Two escutcheons appear here, but no one has managed to decipher them (161).

The Fléhte Museum in Amersfoort preserves a triptych with an *Adoration* as the centrepiece (50, Plate 34), which displays the types and compositional style of our master, despite its rather indifferent execution. The predella of this altarpiece bears an inscription that gives the date of 1526 as the year of death of a certain Thoms van Snoel. The triptych may have been installed in 1526 as his epitaph, but it cannot have been painted at so late a date, which is, therefore, of no help to us. We may, however, yet learn something about the personage in whose memory the altarpiece was set up and about the place where this was done, thus indirectly getting some clue to the painter's home. At the same time, the master's style shows in this altarpiece in a somewhat over smooth and relaxed form, and it may very well be the work of an imitator.

Stylistic criticism is our only resort, and we must see how far it leads us. The master has no readily discernible relationship to any other personality fixed in time and place, hence it is not easy to decide whether his archaic style actually points to an early date, or whether it may not merely mean that he was shut away in provincial seclusion and lagged behind his time. His costumes are fanciful and of little assistance in the dating. The long robes of the men, falling to the feet, indicate a time about 1490, and the broad, rounded shoes, seen here and there, point to the same period. One is tempted to suggest a rather later time, from a scrutiny of the drapery, which billows and rolls in playful fashion in some of the pictures, reminiscent of the manner of the Cologne Master of the altarpiece of St. Bartholomew. If the work of this master did extend close to the turn of the century, he may well have begun about 1460 or 1470.

As for the place he called home, the dominant impression is that it must have been a backwater. We gain a sense of being far away from the big towns, in an area of whose art we know virtually nothing. It was certainly neither Bruges, nor Brussels, nor even Haarlem.

It is true, nevertheless, that the Amsterdam picture (63, Plate 41) from which the master derives his name is constructed spatially along lines with which we are familiar. Courtyards like this were popular around 1480, especially in the circles around Dieric Bouts and Geertgen tot Sint Jans. They may well constitute a Dutch motive, something that arose in Haarlem. We look down from a high vantage point on a tidily paved square, enclosed on the sides by houses and at the back by a wall with an entrance gate in the middle. Above the wall appears a hilly and wooded

countryside. In the foreground of the courtyard is a bench, a second, interior barrier, paralleling the walls further away. The master was intent upon using perspective to organize the space, upon enclosing and almost caging the group of holy women. But this construction has not quite succeeded. He did not altogether understand the motive he borrowed, which was not in keeping with his own style. Spatial depth and locale baffle him. The bench is shown, but the women do not avail themselves of it. The Virgin with the tiny child is seated in the middle, not on the bench, but on a hidden stool. Two of the saints encircling her in star shape are seated on the ground in front of the masonry bench, while the precise way in which the two others are seated is not clear, to say the least.

Such enclosing courtyards have been elaborated with far greater consistency by Dieric's followers, by the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl and by the Master of the Brunswick Diptych³.

Readily comparable with the Liverpool panel are two *Lamentations*, one from the Thieme collection in Leipzig, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (59, Plate 38), the other in the LeRoy collection at Paris. In the Paris picture, the body of Jesus is stretched out stiffly on the ground, Mary Magdalene kneeling at its feet to the fore, her arms crossed on her breast. It is an autonomous composition, loosely and dramatically organized. At the dead Saviour's head, to the left, is a woman with raised arms and folded hands. The tottering Virgin is led and supported by St. John and another woman. Her legs are failing her, her arms droop down limply. A fourth woman has thrown herself to the ground in an excess of grief. The countryside is empty and barren, with softly rounded dunes, between which a Gothic spire rises in the distance.

The bodies and heads do not greatly differ from the Liverpool picture, but the drapery folds, especially in the white cloth on which the body of Jesus rests, are less quiet, showing wavy and crinkled motives.

The narrower panel in New York is lacking in dramatic invention, forfeiting the strongest means of expression at the master's disposal. The Virgin is seated on the ground, the Saviour's dead body on her lap, her hands raised in a lame gesture of mourning. Mary Magdalene, kneeling at the right, holds one arm of the Saviour. Behind, standing stiffly side by side, are St. John and two holy women, figures of considerable tallness.

I have no doubt that this picture stems from the same hand that painted the other scenes from the Passion, although I must admit that the types, while of the same basic form, diverge somewhat. Several of the heads, especially that of the Saviour, almost approach caricature in sharpness of line. The mouths are somewhat wider than usual, their corners turned down sharply, the noses large, the eyes more deep-set. The expression of grief is sharply marked, although a little on the superficial side, lacking the mysterious chiaroscuro to which we are accustomed.

As so often, the works assembled by stylistic analysis form a complex with a close, firm core and looser, star-shaped emanations. The New York *Lamentation* must be put at the periphery, but the *Christ Shown to the People*, which I last saw on the Italian art market, most recently with the Contini gallery in Rome, is a specimen even farther from the centre. We must examine the relation of the pictures to one another as acutely as possible, in the hope of learning something about the road the

3. Cf. vol. 3, *passim*.

master travelled. We must never forget, however, that any assemblage based on stylistic criticism is tentative and almost instinctive, even while it may help us check and confirm our insight into a master's development.

42

Superficially, the *Christ Shown to the People*, in Rome, is reminiscent of Jerome Bosch (53, Plate 35). Bright and harsh, it leaves a stunted impression overall. It shows a kind of architectural rostrum, with many unadorned verticals. A narrow doorway opens on a short flight of stairs leading to the foreground. At its top, in the middle, is Jesus, his bare body showing in a cloak open to the front. Beside him is Pilate and directly behind some officer of the court. Several men appear in a window at the right. At the foot and sides of the steps are groups of people standing close together, two of five figures each, and two of two, representing all ages and walks of life.

The wide range of dress cannot be unhesitatingly used for dating the picture. Fashions lying back in time may have been employed to provide a feeling of history. The grotesquely embellished appearance of the men is an essential part of the overall effect, but apart from that the picture is rather meagre and empty. All the same, the needle-nosed shoes, the close-fitting leotards, the tall headcoverings, the padded shoulders, the short jackets of the young cavaliers—all these elements of dress, more sharply marked in this than in other pictures by the master, testify in behalf of a relatively early date of origin. Indeed, the curious air of constraint allows the inference that it was one of the master's earliest works. As a point of departure, this arid painting gains importance and merits the closest attention.

Despite their modish dress and brocade, all the men, young or old, have something wizened and gnomelike. Their eyes are like holes, their downwards-turned mouths like slashes. The painter falters in his endeavour for dramatic narrative. Ostensibly, the furious crowd is supposed to surge against the courthouse; but challenge, menace and outcry are expressed only feebly in a few upraised arms. The play of the drapery, with its small parallel curves, is sparse. The brushwork is thick and treacly.

A considerable advance is shown in a *Crucifixion* in the Uffizi at Florence (54, Plate 36). The figures in this gloomy and rust-coloured picture move more freely than in the *Christ Shown to the People*. They are on the slender side, although substantial. The master has come closer to his goal of vehement action. The group on the left, especially—St. John supporting the swooning Virgin—is impressive in its originality. Mary Magdalene is seen from the back, kneeling before the cross, forming a Gothic, S-shaped line, like the Virgin, a boldly conceived but awkward attitude. The types are similar in configuration to the *Christ Shown to the People*. The master's personal feelings have begun to emerge with freedom, speaking in a single voice from the picture as a whole and from all its parts. These bodies with their narrow chests and shoulders are swept up in desperate participation in the agony of the Passion. Their hair hangs wildly into their faces. Posture and gesture are dominated by the eloquence of the deaf mute—a vehement urge to communicate, to which the means of expression are altogether unequal. The colour scheme is dark and warm, brown and red, held together harmoniously by something akin to *chiaroscuro*. The brushwork is coarse-grained, fuzzy and 'painterly'.

We have occasion here to see how the master shapes his landscapes. He proceeds

in cursory fashion, putting down forms from memory or only sketchy observation, and he clings to these forms tenaciously. He is not much interested in the countryside as such, since it does not for him affect the overall expression. There are pale houses and churches, distant city gates, gently rounded hillocks, thin and without solid mass, trees that look more like dark patches of brownish green. The vegetation is stereotyped, with little organization—rounded walls of shubbery, feathery or hairy in contour.

The large altarpiece in the Bowes Museum (55, Plate 37) has as its centre panel a *Crucifixion* that readily bears comparison with the panel in Florence. Evidently a late work, the triptych is filled with teeming life. The master has now gained assurance and boldly combines many figures, all of them in complete freedom of movement. On the left is the group of the mourners, on the left the soldiers and the executioners. Five women and St. John partially overlap one another and are joined in a wide range of postures and expressions. A similar throng peoples the shutters, the faces more open in expression, the stature heavier and shorter. The kneeling Magdalene in the *Deposition* is seen from the back and may be compared with the similarly conceived figure in the panel at Florence. In firmness of structure and clarity of her relationship to ground and space she has greatly gained, even while losing in Gothic sweep. And there is vast enrichment in the drapery, which swirls in a great variety of folds, far removed from the spare rigidity and fussy creasing of the earlier pictures. Taken on its own, with no other knowledge of the painter, the altarpiece would be dated between 1490 and 1500. What is left is the truculent mien, the darkling gaze, the heavy coloration, and the formal details of landscape and heads. Legs are not bent at the knee, but kept ramrod straight, indeed, giving the impression of a sabre, lightly feathered against the ground.

Now that we have achieved reasonable clarity about the early and the late among the store of pictures thus far known, we may venture upon a chronological sequence that includes all the pieces. I do not find it possible to insert any of them between the *Christ Shown to the People* and the *Crucifixion* in Florence. Next comes the *Lamentation* in the LeRoy collection. A middle group, marked by its profundity, would include the *Liverpool Lamentation*, followed by the *Berlin Adoration* (49, Plate 31), the *Salzburg altarpiece*, the *Milan Adoration* (48, Plate 31), the *Vienna Annunciation*, the *Virgin among Virgins* in Amsterdam, and the *Crucifixion* in the Glitza collection. Among works of particularly late date, I would include the *Holy Trinity* in Zagreb (62, Plate 41), in addition to the Bowes altarpiece.

Surprisingly enough, success has been achieved in the matter of time and place as well. The style of this master has been recognized in woodcuts for books, in illustrations that appeared in Delft, Gouda, Zwolle and Antwerp between 1480 and 1520. Those who have found their way through the maze of the Dutch woodcut, with the aid of Martin Conway⁴, will be able to assert with considerable assurance that the Master of the *Virgin among Virgins* was active in Delft between 1480 and 1495. At one time I left the question of Delft *versus* Gouda open, but after the enlightening investigation and remarks by Schretlen⁵, I have come down on the side of Delft.

One difficulty lies in the fact that printers were migratory and took their wood blocks with them. These blocks, moreover, passed from hand to hand. The date of

4. *The Woodcutters of the Netherlands*, Cambridge, 1884.

5. *Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts*, E. Benn, London, 1925.

a book can be taken as no more than the date before which the woodcut must have been done.

When we trace back as far as possible the style and formal idiom of our master in the field of illustration, we reach the year 1483. In that year there appeared in Delft the *Historie van die Seven Wise Mannen*⁶. Woodcuts in this style were later on printed over and over in Antwerp, which is explained from the fact that the Delft printer Eckert van Homberch emigrated to the Schelde port about 1500. Some confusion is brought into the matter by the observation that G. Leeu, another printer who worked first in Gouda and later in Antwerp, also owned a small number of wood blocks in this style, which he first used in Gouda in 1487. What tips the balance in favour of Delft is that our artist did work for all three printers in that town, van der Meer, Snellaert and Eckert. These printers succeeded and relieved one another, each becoming the former's heir. It would appear that the Master of the Virgin among Virgins dominated book illustration in Delft, although he may have occasionally worked for Gouda and other Dutch presses (see Plate 131).

When we arrange these illustrations by the year of publication, we get a chronology that lends support to our sequence for the paintings. Apart from the valuable service which book illustration has performed in this instance for the connoisseur of paintings, by establishing time, place and development of the painter, the large number of woodcuts supplement our view of him and increase our respect for his inventiveness and imagination. The narrative is always lively, memorable and astonishingly rich in postures. The master was not an occasional dabbler, he made a great many drawings to be cut in wood, over a long period of time and on a professional basis. There is an unmistakable mutual interaction between this art form and his painting style. The hurried and cursory technique with its outlines and small interest in detail, and the strong contours themselves are qualities of a born illustrator, and they are apparent in the paintings. In his relation to book illustration, this painter forms an exception among his Lower German contemporaries.

The brushwork, especially in the pictures from the middle period, is fuzzy, reminiscent of aquarelle for the most part, producing patchy areas and allowing the underlying drawing to shine through in places. The flesh tints are greyish and spotted, the greens very dark, the red lake pale, and on the whole a warm coloration is favoured.

Dülberg has ascribed to this master—in my opinion correctly—a drawing in the Louvre (Plate 135), a sketch for a glass tondo⁷. It shows three grief-stricken women about a water basin into which a knight has fallen. The drawing displays the master's late style.

A Dutchman, he picked his narrow way entirely on his own, his cast of mind brooding, fanatical, limited in outlook. His frugal austerity may be considered one of the influences that led to Puritanism. It was in Holland that traditional forms of worship were thrown into the discard, because the Gospels were taken seriously. This odd man out too belongs among the progenitors of Rembrandt, whose *chiaroscuro* is foreshadowed in the brownish welter of these tints.

6. Schretlen, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 55.

7. *Frühholänder in Frankreich*, Pl. v.

The Life and Works of Jerome Bosch

45

Jerome Bosch was esteemed in his lifetime and famous after his death, as the sources tell us and the large number of imitators testify. His fame was linked to certain ideas about him, ideas that issued from the subject matter of his pictures. Guicciardini placed him between Joos van Cleve and Orley and described *Bosco di Bolduc* as an *inventore nobilissimo miraviglioso di cose fantastiche bizzare*. Documents in 's Hertogenbosch, where the master lived, and where, according to van Mander, he was also born, describe him as Hieronymus van Aeken (Aachen) (171). His name first occurs in the registers of the Brotherhood of Our Lady there in 1488, then in 1493/94, 1498/99, 1504, 1508/9 and 1512 (181). The master's death is noted in the lists of this confraternity in the following fashion: *Obitus fratrum: A^o 1516 Hieronimus Aquen als Bosch insignis pictor*. As for the length of the life that ended in 1516, we know from traditional portraits that the master attained an advanced age. An aged, thought-worn face looks out at us from the well-known Arras Codex (Fol. 275); and the engraved portrait in the sequence of likenesses of painters, published by the widow of Jerome Cock in 1572 (and serving as the model for later portraits), goes back to the same original as the drawing. Bosch seems to have been born about 1450, hence was presumably only a little younger than Hans Memling, and a little older than Gerard David and Geertgen tot Sint Jans. He is in every sense a master of the 15th century.

The form in which his name appears in the documents might lead to the inference that Aix-la-Chapelle was his place of birth. In 1434/35 (191), a Jan van Aken painted a *Mary of Egypt* for the cathedral in 's Hertogenbosch, and in 1441 he got another commission. A Laurens van Aken is mentioned as a burgess of the same town in 1461. The first may have been our master's grandfather, the second his father (201). The name van Aeken probably pointed to the family's origins, while the painter himself was a son of the town after which he regularly called himself in the signatures on his pictures—*Iheronimus bosch*. However that may be, his work is tied to the town in the closest fashion. Politically, 's Hertogenbosch today belongs to Holland, but it is as far from Haarlem as it is from Antwerp and cannot be accounted Dutch in a cultural sense—that is, if we are at all entitled to speak of a Dutch cultural region as existing in the 15th century.

For the main church of his town, the church of St. John, Bosch created many works. In 1493 or 1494 he made designs for the stained glass windows of a chapel that belonged to the Brotherhood of Our Lady. He further did six panel paintings, which were described as late as 1611, but vanished soon afterwards. The themes of these lost paintings were a *Creation*, *Abigail Visiting Solomon*, an *Adoration*, a *Siege of Bethulia*, with the *Killing of Holofernes*, a *Flight of the Army after the Killing of Holofernes*, and an *Esther and Ahasuerus*.

Bosch's fame soon reached beyond the walls of his hometown. Shortly before 1504, he was commissioned by Philip the Fair, the sovereign who resided mainly in Brussels, to do a very large triptych altarpiece, *un grand tableau de peinture, de*

1X pieds de hault en XI pieds de long, où doit estre le Jugement de Dieu, assavoir paradis et enfer, que Monseigneur lui avait ordonné faire pour son très noble plaisir (21).

As shown by an inventory entry of 1516, the Stadholder Margaret owned a *Temptation of St. Anthony* by Bosch's hand while he was still alive. The master of 's Hertogenbosch was noted in royal art circles at an early date, and paintings by him soon reached Italy¹.

The collecting passions of the Spaniard Don Felipe Guevara and of Philip II, who abducted a series of his works to Spain, were able to take fire at the Netherlandish court, in Brussels or Mechlin. For several generations, Bosch captured and entertained the gloomy spirit of Spain, becoming something like a jester to the House of Hapsburg.

We owe to that same Don Felipe an early and curious utterance about Bosch. It is found in the *Comentarios de la Pintura*, a work written about 1565, but printed by Ponz only in 1788². The humanist and antiquarian Guevara has virtually nothing to say about the newer painters except for enthusiastic comment on the master from 's Hertogenbosch. As the confidant of Charles V, Guevara had acquired several paintings by Bosch, which passed into the hands of Philip II after his death (1570). Many pictures had been offered to him, with the alleged signature of Bosch, but Guevara speaks suspiciously of spuriously signed works that had 'been smoked in chimneys, to give them the appearance of age'. He notes generously and up to a certain point correctly that the great master never painted anything counter to nature, apart from his monstrous demons, and he goes so far as to maintain that only Bosch's exaggerating imitators had transcended the limits of the natural. He then proceeds to mention a student of Bosch who had signed the master's name to his works, and who had, indeed, worked with greater care, excellence and patience than the master himself, although he lagged behind in freshness, animation and coloration. He attributes to this pupil the table top with the *Seven Deadly Sins*, which was even then in the possession of the king and may be seen in the Escorial today. This table is now generally regarded as Bosch's work. Still, the knowledgeable comment by the art-loving courtier ought to give us pause, particularly since Don Felipe had seen more of Bosch than we have. Surely he must have seen many works by the master that did not transcend the limits of the natural and seemly in his eyes. Yet possibly a certain stubborn collector's jealousy clouded his judgment. He liked some of the talents of the versatile and productive master, while rejecting others, and he went so far as to declare that the things he did not like were spurious, perhaps in an effort to keep unsullied the picture of his favourite painter he had formed from the works he owned.

Spanish inventories³ tell us that Philip II owned many more pictures by Bosch than can today be seen in Madrid and in the Escorial. There were six paintings on wood and canvas under Guevara's bequest and a good deal else from other sources. In 1574, Philip set up nine works by Bosch in the Escorial—two panels from the Passion, several Temptations of St. Anthony, and some large-sized allegories. The present store in the Escorial is part of that collection. But in addition, 12 pieces are mentioned as being in the palace and treasury at Madrid, and a like number in the hunting lodge El Pardo (22).

The titles of the six pictures owned by Guevara have been preserved for us⁴:

1. The Anonimo Morelliano (English edition, p. 118) saw a canvas on the theme of hell at the palace of Cardinal Grimani.

2. C. Justi, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 10, 1889, p. 122 f.

3. Justi, *loc. cit.*

4. Justi, *loc. cit.*, p. 141.

The Hay Waggon (preserved in the Escorial); *The Cure for Folly* (possibly the familiar picture in the Prado, known as *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness*); and four that are lost: a *Guide of the Blind* (perhaps the composition preserved in the engraving published by Jerome Cock⁵); a *Flemish Dance*; a *Blind Men Hunting the Boar*; and a *Witch*. The inventories excerpted by Justi give many more titles of lost paintings, enlarging our view of the master's productivity and inventiveness⁶. Not one of the pieces on canvas—several of which are mentioned—has come down to us. Oddly enough, another is described as a fresco.

These titles make us inclined to trace back to Bosch some of the pictorial themes which Pieter Bruegel painted in the version familiar to us, for example *The Fight between Carnival and Lent*.

At the time the great museums of Europe took form, the name of Bosch was a literary notion rather than a clear concept in the minds of art connoisseurs. The master is unrepresented almost everywhere—or was until recently. The National Gallery in London owns not a single work by his hand (231), while the Louvre gained possession of one of his pictures only a few years ago, through the generosity of an art historian. The main works are far away, in the Escorial, in Madrid, in Lisbon, or hidden away in private hands.

Most of what was written about Bosch reads as though it were taken from detailed descriptions of lost works⁷. He is a popular figure, and almost everyone has some idea of the infernal torments and scurrilous monstrosities with which he crowded his pictures; but in terms of his formal and creative skill he is virtually unknown. No clear distinction is made between him and his imitators, because it is the content of his pictures that arouses curiosity and rivets attention, leaving little interest in examining and enjoying his forms and colours.

At least five works, rightly accounted originals from the style, show the master's full signature, all in the same Gothic lettering *Iheronimus bosch*.

They are:

The triptych with the *Temptation of St. Anthony*, in the Lisbon museum (90, Plates 75-78).

The triptych with the *Adoration*, in the Prado, Madrid (68, Plates 47-49).

St. John on Patmos, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (101, Plates 90, 91).

The Martyrdom of St. Julia, in the Palace of the Doges (from Vienna) (99, Plates 88, 89).

St. Jerome, in the Palace of the Doges, Venice (from Vienna) (98, Plates 86, 87).

We thus stand on firm ground. The signed panels provide a clear and varied picture of the master's work, enabling us to confirm his authorship of a number of other paintings, and also confirming, in the process, tradition in respect of the works in the Escorial.

It is true that a signature alone does not guarantee his authorship. There is no dearth of signed pictures that, by their quality, must be discarded as copies. Apparently there was little hesitation to append Bosch's name, nor was this necessarily done with evil intent, but rather to honour and identify the master's invention. Guevara's critical judgment is quite in order, even though he may have gone too far in a few cases.

5. Reproduced in Pfister, *Hieronymus Bosch*, p. 22.

6. *Loc. cit.*, p. 141 ff.

7. The influence of Justi's lucid judgment (*loc. cit.*) has been obscured especially by Dollmayr.

In an attempt to isolate the surviving store of original works, I shall arrange the material in three groups, by subject:

A. Representations from the Gospels, devotional panels.

B. The Last Judgment, and ordeals suffered by saints, themes that allowed the master to open the gates of hell.

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C. Representations on the borders of genre, satire and allegory.

Bosch was a respected painter in his hometown, probably the most renowned there, and he could not escape such commissions as came to all Netherlandish workshops in his day. He was not free, in other words, to keep only to themes that pleased his own whim and fancy, but was under the necessity of executing altarpieces with customary scenes, done in the proper manner, such as Adorations and incidents from the Passion. It stands to reason, however, that he withdrew from such demands more and more, once he had become aware of his peculiar gifts and celebrated in the eyes of his contemporaries for them.

We are, therefore, entitled to assume that especially in his youth his work and his approach to it stuck closely to the customs and conventions of his day. Only as he grew older and gained in assurance did he begin to depart from tradition; and the brighter his glory shone beyond the walls of his hometown, the freer he felt to give rein to his inventiveness, whether by rejecting wonted devotional themes altogether, or by boldly transmogrifying them. Perhaps, too, the ordinary was no longer demanded of one who was so extraordinary.

In all likelihood, pictures of Groups B and C were more sought after, esteemed and preserved in the 16th century than those of Group A, so that his fantastic creations are disproportionately represented in the surviving store, in which works from his middle and late period may predominate.

If we find no Bosch Madonnas, we must not conclude that he painted none. However little they may have accorded with his character, during his early period he may well have painted Madonnas that are now lost. Some of them, moreover, may remain unidentified, because they lack the clear mark of his peculiar style.

Another consideration must not be neglected in any attempt to trace Bosch's development. The more a theme accorded with his inclinations, the less inhibited grew his invention. Subjects like St. Anthony and the Last Judgment drew forth his power for projecting the supernatural and abnormal, but when it came to representing the Adoration or the Crucifixion the pressure of tradition was far stronger, and an act of mature will was required to permeate such paintings with so subjective a spirit. The historian who turns to the master's youthful works in the expectation of learning something about his origins will find himself tracing with growing interest the beginnings of a personal style, in paintings that in subject matter as well as approach still stick to traditional lines.

By psychological pattern, we should expect three evolutionary phases. First of all would come the timid stirrings of originality, encountering resistance on the part of a world that demanded the normal. Next would come the break-through of dammed-up power, with resultant success and joyful creation from inner resources. Lastly there would be repetition of the new that was no longer new to the master himself, slowly freezing into mannerism—the ultimate fate of all imaginative art.

8. Such an attempt was made by Baldass in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 38, 1917, p. 177 ff.

To attempt a complete chronological order of all the surviving works by these principles would be a questionable venture indeed⁸. No known work of the master is dated by inscription.

For purposes of convenience alone, I prefer to group the works by subject, although I shall strive for clarity in terms of temporal sequence with all the means of stylistic analysis, bearing in mind the principles that have been suggested.

Jerome Bosch painted at least one *Nativity*. We have a specimen of the composition, if not the original, in a painting in Cologne (65, Plate 44), to which Justi has drawn attention. Approximately square, it shows the rather large figures of Joseph and the Virgin in half-length, sharing the interest in inward expression that drew Hugo van der Goes to that format. They are looking down upon the child in the manger, their hands showing, their heads gently rounded. Ox and ass, pushing their way between the figures with impudent familiarity, are depicted with a degree of realism that prevails over the pale humans. In the background, in smaller scale, a shepherd appears, evincing his joy at being present with a roguish if not foolish smile. The line of hands and drapery is not altogether satisfying. In its essentials, the panel is in a good state of preservation, and its irritating weaknesses are not explained by damage. A more plausible conjecture is that Bosch was not greatly stimulated by the subject, painting the main figures rather casually and devoting his real interest to delineating the animals.

Bosch repeatedly painted the Adoration. We are privileged to compare several originals and to essay upon a chronological sequence, with the prospect of gaining insight into the master's development.

In its archaic symmetry and gilding, scarcely ever again found in Bosch, the *Adoration* that has reached the Metropolitan Museum from the Lippmann collection (66, Plate 45) makes a meagre and constrained impression. We are more confident than in the case of any other picture of here confronting an early work, although perhaps not a youthful work in the narrower sense.

The horizon is high, and the beholder looks down upon the level and empty foreground and the background plane with its thin cover of vegetation. The figures, on the other hand, each one on its own, are seen in normal aspect rather than from above, almost as though pasted to the surface. The masonry framework, meant to enclose the figures, is in approximately correct perspective, based on the panel's midline, yet remains little more than a set of stage flats and quite fails to blend with the figures, in terms of either space or lighting. The stiff actors are awkwardly positioned, and there is scarcely a hint of any inward relationship between them. Still, the personal note of fairytale is struck overall in this creation, pleasingly bright and smooth, despite its frugality. Genrelike motives are cautiously smuggled into the composition, like the aged shepherd, stretching an arm through the window to warm himself at the fire, and the Negro king with his vain strutting.

The picture is not in a good state of preservation in all its parts. Joseph's robe, particularly, is irritating in its heavy overpainting. The brittle economy of form does not everywhere come over with clarity. The greatest freedom of line is attained in the landscape background, in the tiny figures that lend a semblance of life to the barren plain.

Painted with subtlety and perfectly preserved, the signed triptych with an *Adora-*

tion in the Prado (68, Plates 47-49) displays the assurance of maturity and was clearly done at a later date than the panel in New York. It met with particularly warm approval and, with the *Temptation* in Lisbon, became the painting most frequently copied and imitated. Exceptionally, we here get a hint of the date, from the style of dress in the donor portraits. The arms and the name saints, Peter and Agnes, may yet help establish the identity of this couple and thus contribute to a more precise dating. From the dress fashions alone, the time would be not much earlier than 1495, nor much later. We have reached the midpoint in Bosch's life, when he stood at the pinnacle of his creative power, equidistant from youthful hesitancy and the mannered style of old age. The picture itself documents this.

The horizon once again is lofty. Rolling country, seen in proper geographic perspective, with a town in the distance, rises above the ramshackle hut that forms a kind of wall behind the figures in the foreground. Motives of genre and burlesque intrude into the narrative, but without overwhelming it. The shepherds are not quite bold enough to move in closely to this regal occasion, but endeavour in one way or another to snatch the best possible view of the splendid spectacle. Two of these interlopers have mounted the thatched roof of the hut, another is climbing a tree, a fourth peers with naïve curiosity through a chink in the wall. A roguish Negro lad stands behind the dark-skinned king. Members of the royal entourage are seen in the doorway, including an all but naked savage, with a head covering resembling a bird's nest. Joseph has been pushed out of the main picture altogether, into the left shutter, where he cowers on the ground, a tiny figure, drying the baby's napkins over a fire.

The main figures are rhythmically arranged with serene mastery, cleanly outlined, lifting from the ground with ease and elegance. The drapery is rendered with the utmost plausibility, and clothes and jewellery are drawn with minute precision, containing pictorial incidents from the Bible, in embroidery and chased gold. The precious and artful offering of the first king, standing on the ground, shows Christ bearing the cross, in prophetic allusion.

On the reverse of the shutters, in grisaille, is a *Mass of Pope Gregory*, done in delicate nuances and mature taste. Such grisailles, dashed off with sublime subtlety and fluid ease, are one of the master's hallmarks.

The third *Adoration*, which has gone from the collection of the Earl of Ellenborough to the Johnson collection in Philadelphia (67, Plate 46), is heavier and more constrained in conception, with a somewhat confusing spatial configuration. The folds of the ample robes, bunched and sweeping, depart a little from the forms to which we are accustomed. This picture was probably done before the triptych in the Prado, although later than the one in New York.

The fourth *Adoration*, a triptych at Anderlecht, near Brussels (69, Plate 52), is not, as has been repeatedly asserted, a copy after the Madrid triptych. It is in a bad state, overpainted in places and hard to examine in its church, and it may well be an original. If so, it would belong to the master's late period. The horizon lies at a relatively low level. Elements that testify to a late dating are the clarity of the spatial rendering and the Renaissance motives in the architecture on the left shutter.

The two versions of *Christ Shown to the People* by Bosch that have come down to us are very different. The panel from the Kaufmann collection, now in the Städel-

Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt (77, Plate 57), displays realism of locale—the courthouse with a platform, facing a square, in the background a wide road beyond a river. On the open porch stands the Saviour, bare⁹ and covered with wounds, Pilate, a judicial personage and three henchmen. On the right is a dense throng, most of the faces being shown in profile, breathing up its ignorant hatred. The other *Ecce Homo*, in the Johnson collection (78, Plate 58), is imaginative and theatrical, organized in two tiers with small heed to spatial realism. Below, filling the breadth of the picture, is a turbulent, screaming and gesticulating mob. Savage, bestial figures rise up here in half-length, waving bare arms and weapons, all silhouetted against a light-coloured wall. Above, on a structure like a bridge, are Jesus, Pilate and the minions of the law. The whole painting seems almost improvised, highly suggestive in its rhythm of light patches and dark. Despite its seemingly archaic spatial configuration, I regard this second picture, with its free character and visionary, personal note, as later than the painstakingly and rationally organized picture in Frankfurt.

What gives this second version its special impact is its arrangement of two rows of figures, one above the other, all the figures remaining in the same scale and appearing to be in the same plane. The master used this flat scheme, foregoing all depth, again when he was under the necessity of adapting a *Christ Bearing the Cross* to a narrow altar shutter. To subdivide the procession to Calvary in this fashion was a far-fetched notion, forced upon Bosch by the tall format, added to which was his own dislike of having the procession run vertically up or down. There is indeed a copy of this *Christ Bearing the Cross*, a picture in width in the Weinberger collection in Vienna (83a, Plate 64). All the figures in that picture are entirely as in the one in the Staatsgalerie, but they make up a single train, moving on a road towards the right.

This curious two-storey *Christ Bearing the Cross*, a comparatively recent accession of the Vienna Staatsgalerie (83, Plate 64), displays the casual style, a bit on the rough side, that is conspicuous in the *Christ Shown to the People* in Philadelphia and a few other of the master's pictures.

Probably of later origin is a *Christ Bearing the Cross* in the Escorial (81, Plate 62), of greater gravity and dignity in conception, more artful and focussed in execution, almost a paradigm of firmly rounded relief construction.

The effect of some of Bosch's scenes from the Passion hinges decidedly on eccentric physiognomy. The main burden of expression in these half-length figures rests upon faces that are twisted and contorted in an excess of emotion. The Saviour's adversaries are stripped bare as by a caricaturist who observes them at close range and reveals the viciousness that speaks from their mis-shapen features. Here are throngs of vultures with popping eyes and snarling lips, yielding to bestial fury and insane fanaticism. The strong and detailed modelling of the heads, the exaggeration of expression, the wilful liberties taken with facial forms, the devastating characterization stemming from a profound and malicious knowledge of human nature, the limitation to a single dramatic device while foregoing realism of locale—all these are compatible with the view that Bosch did not find his stride until comparatively late and arrived at this analytical half-length style only after long experience.

The frenzied jubilation of the executioners, the pompous arrogance of the judges are no longer a mere means for enhancing contrast, for glorifying the dig-

nity and patience of the victim—they have become the very heart of the picture.

By comparison, a *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in the Escorial (79, Plate 59)—of which there are several variants and copies—is almost mild in effect. Here the suffering Saviour still holds a fair balance to his five insolent adversaries who seem to enjoy inflicting, supervising or watching his torments. With increasing numbers, their malice seems to grow to bestial savagery, for example in a *Christ before Pilate* in the University Museum at Princeton (76, Plate 57), in a *Christ before the High Priest* on the Dutch art market (from the von Nemes collection, 75, Plate 56), and in a *Christ Bearing the Cross* in the Ghent museum (82, Plate 63). In the Ghent picture, particularly, unleashed lunacy and deluded frenzy, dressed up in barbaric finery, are projected with the unreality of a nightmare.

The so-called Mannerists, whose fruitful output began in Antwerp about 1510, were eager for innovation and ready to borrow their effects from any source; but when it came to investing the human visage with exotic interest, to lend it memorable point, they preferred to take a leaf from Bosch. Odd faces were used throughout the 16th century to season Biblical representation, and Bosch, especially in his late works, was the direct antecedent. We thus do get a hint to the dating of the Bosch œuvre, albeit one that is none too reliable.

By innate disposition, Bosch deviated in every possible way from the straight road of pictorial tradition; and whenever the theme gave him occasion or opportunity, he advanced into the region of genre or the bizarre. The panel with the *Marriage at Cana* in the Königs collection at Haarlem (73, Plate 54) is genrelike in conception, but not trivially so. Dignity and solemnity are expressed in the brittle rigidity of the figures, mystery and remoteness in time by means of various oddities of dress and curious objects. A child in a long frock, seen directly from the back, seems to be hailing and addressing the bridal pair, a great cup of wine in his hand. The total effect is deadly earnest and spectral, with grotesque embellishments.

Bosch represented the central scene from the Passion, Christ on the Cross, with the mourners, almost with a sense of embarrassment. Here he was encumbered by tradition. He hesitated to do wilful violence to hieratic preconceptions. A little-known panel on this theme, preserved in a private collection in Belgium (84, Plate 65), is certainly a work of his hand, pale and tired as it looks. We know these pointed, sickly heads, the desolate plain with its thin covering. St. Peter is presenting the donor, a knight of tender years who wears striped hose and a very short cloak, his individuality barely hinted at. Despite its air of constraint, I do not regard this picture as a youthful work. The figures move with a certain freedom, and the drapery, with its sparse and economical lines, is shaped as in works that certainly belong to Bosch's mature midperiod.

Bosch did not originate the pictorial theme of the Temptation of St. Anthony, but he cast it into a form that was considered valid for a long time. All saints were passive sufferers in his eyes, tormented by visions and demons, but Anthony, his favourite, was the one whom hell plagued most fiendishly with its pranks and tortures. He painted numerous *Temptations of St. Anthony*, as Spanish inventories testify. Surviving originals are in the oft-copied triptych in Lisbon (90, Plates 75-78), in the triptych at Venice, which has a *St. Jerome* in the middle and *St. Anthony* on the left shutter (98, Plates 86, 87), and four separate panels that are in the Prado (93,

Plate 83), the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (94, Plate 82), the Gutmann collection in Haarlem (92, Plate 82), and on the Munich art market (91, Plate 82). Other originals, now lost, may be inferred from copies and imitations. A comparison of these various compositions confirms that the subject stimulated the master's imagination to almost inexhaustible productivity. He seems never to have grown tired of inventing new variations of the resourceful Devil's cunning tricks.

Hell spews out its foul-shaped demons who crowd about the holy man, tempting him with food and drink and seductive femininity. They assault his cell and set it on fire. For the most part, it is all an unwelcome visitation rather than a temptation proper. A horde of monsters crawls and flies from every side—amphibian bodies, frog's legs, human heads, armed and armoured.

On one occasion—in the panel on the Munich art market—a gloomy Anthony stands in the middle, with demons fluttering about him like a swarm of hornets. The picture looks almost like a drawing, the background in semi-darkness, the space rendered quite obscurely. Shining bodies are evenly distributed over the area. The coloration is deep, heavy and on the viscid side.

In the picture in the Gutmann collection, the landscape space has been developed with greater clarity. St. Anthony cowers to the fore, hunched over, letting the demoniac assault flow over him like a storm, the while his house in the middle-ground is being besieged in military fashion, battered down and set alight. In the foreground, monsters of various kinds are disporting themselves, not quite daring to approach the saint closely. There is a frog, rigged like a sailing ship, an archer aiming from an eggshell at birds that are escaping from the body of another monster through a funnel, and various other amusing combinations. The saint is being tempted by a naked woman, rising from the water like a mermaid.

The light-coloured Berlin panel is of similar character, except that here the saint is reading, unmindful of the hellish crew. The malicious foolery of the monsters is directed more at one another than against the devout hermit, only one bold crustacean pinching his prayer book with its claws. Here too the house is being besieged and attacked by land and by water.

A subtler variation of the scene is shown in the *Temptation* in the Prado. Here the monstrous minions of hell are preparing the attack, lurking in ambush. The saint, tensely and expressively bent over almost into a circle, is clearly set for the ordeal to come. All these visitations seem harmless, compared with the triptych in Lisbon, which is regarded as one of Bosch's masterpieces. The motives multiply in tropical luxuriance. Row upon serried row of fabulous creatures seek to bemuse the hermit's spirit by their mere appearance, diverting him from his path by food, drink and femininity. Every effect is enhanced by cumulation. On the horizon, a whole village is going up in flames. The architectural profusion knows no bounds. We are at the limit, where the absurd is no longer spice but food, where Bosch is boasting with the virtuosity of his wit and pictorial imagination. The saint and his ordeal are all but forgotten.

Bosch invented a whole flora as well as a fauna. When his theme prevented him from devising beasts, he demonized land and vegetation, finding support and nourishment in travel reports of newly discovered continents. St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome never walked over meadows or beneath oaks and beeches. For sinners

seeking to mortify the flesh, the desert seemed to be a fit place, and faraway countries bring forth exotic growth. From vague ideas of tropical vegetation, Bosch shaped cactuslike plants and branches resembling coral. The ground is parched, strewn with crumbling walls, animal bones, lizards, owls and other creatures, with thorn and thistle, tall tree trunks and dense thickets, a sinister abode and rough pallet for man. In the foreground, at least, the land looks as though it were accursed, while towards the horizon stretch blessed hills and the sea with many bays.

Typical examples of this approach, in which Christian austerity is exemplified in the outdoors and in plants like ornaments, are the *St. Jerome* (97, Plate 85) in the Ghent museum, the triptych with the same saint at the centre in Venice (98, Plates 86, 87), and the *St. John the Baptist* in the Lazáro collection in Madrid (102, Plate 93).

In the Ghent picture, the saint has thrown himself naked to the ground at full length, as though on a rack. Each time, the bewitched wilderness vexes his spirit, as the prickly vegetation and jagged rock cuts his skin.

Separate panels with *St. John on Patmos* (101, Plates 90, 91) and *St. Christopher* (96, Plate 84) show these saints too in an animated landscape setting of great expressive power. The devout hero, whether victor or victim, is always placed in and contrasted with a devilish world.

The youthful, blue-eyed St. John is seen in full profile in the Berlin panel. He is seated on a hummock, as though inditing a paean to the wide, fair world. Like the faraway vista, he is done in light, airy, glazeliike brushwork. A grey demon, unseen by the saint, huddles against the rock like a spy. On the reverse of this panel, in brown monochrome, is a Passion, done with dashing skill, world symbol in barest compass. The front of the panel is slightly overcleaned, leaving the pigment layer thin in some places, rough-looking in others. The cloak looks almost leached, the underdrawing visible through a glazeliike layer of lake. The foliage has dotted highlights, ornamentally and evenly arrayed in groups and curves. The 'genuine' signature is partly obliterated.

The theme of the Last Judgment afforded the master occasion for manifesting a sublime acquaintance with hell. He onesidedly documents the consignment to hell, the redeemed ascending to beatitude being scarcely seen. The largest space is assigned to the torture chamber, to the equipment of which impassioned attention is devoted.

We learn that Bosch did a very large *Last Judgment* for Philip the Fair early in the 16th century. Aside from copies and imitations, we possess an excellent original in the Vienna Academy (85, Plates 66-68). Lucas Cranach copied this triptych in full size and faithful colour (85a) when he was in the Netherlands, perhaps as early as 1508, and it would appear that he worked from the original rather than from a drawing. Several Viennese scholars have argued against Bosch's authorship¹⁰, but these reservations are unjustified, although understandable. The panels have suffered severely, presumably in a fire, and were in part overpainted a very long time ago. It becomes necessary, therefore, to distinguish the genuine from the spurious. The lower part of the centrepiece is especially well-preserved and shows Bosch's art in full flower. It is totally implausible to assume that any copyist—and if the panel is not an original, it could only be a copy—should have attained such delicacy of line, such fire, such fine colour nuances and transitions. The left shutter, however,

10. Dollmayr, *Österreichisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 19, p. 284 ff.

showing a *Garden of Eden*, looks opaque in coloration and clumsy in form, on account of the old restoration, in my opinion.

After the *Fall of Man* on the left shutter, mankind is mercilessly delivered up to damnation. Hell extends over the central panel and the right shutter. The underworld with its steep crags, cages and cells filled with fiendishly contrived devices for torture rises up and merges into a burning countryside in which night leaves nothing visible but flames shooting to the sky.

The grisaille paintings on the reverse of the shutters show St. James as a pilgrim and St. Bavo giving alms to the poor. The escutcheons are blank. The line is in part of great subtlety, worthy of the master.

A smaller *Last Judgment*, which has gone from the Gavet collection to the municipal museum in Bruges (86, Plates 69-71), also seems to me to be an original. As in the one in Vienna, the story is spread out over the inside of a triptych, but although the basic thought and inventive orientation are unchanged, the motives in the Vienna painting do not recur. The left shutter of the Bruges triptych, moreover, shows Heaven rather than the Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man. It is a Heaven of fairytale and carnival.

Bosch never painted genre pictures in the narrow sense. When we encounter titles in old inventories that suggest genre scenes, they are usually based on misapprehension. The cataloguers simply missed the moral or symbolic purpose. The scenes may seem to be drawn from life, to represent typical situations or actions, but in fact they have a specific meaning that can be read. We must distinguish between creative purpose and visual experience. Life may be seen in the mode of genre, while the creative purpose may pursue altogether different aims. Bosch was not a naïve observer of everyday life. Whatever his eyes took in was permeated by his spirit of mockery and exhortation. Here lies the essential difference between Bosch and his great successor Pieter Bruegel, a difference that may be interpreted as a contrast between generations as well as between two personalities. Like Bosch, Bruegel felt it to be his task and purpose to translate popular sayings into pictorial terms, to recreate their origins, so to speak. His representations in this mood are chock-a-block with realism. His people are wholly absorbed in what they are doing. Bosch's figures, on the other hand, resemble comedians, puppets whose strings the painter manipulates, who seem to play out their parts with mental reservations and sidelong glances. The impression of symbolism, moreover, is enhanced by his archaic approach to composition, his display of the actors in one pictorial level.

The saying: 'He needs to have his stone cut' in those days suggested cutting open a person's head to rid him of madness. Both Bosch and Bruegel have illustrated this idiomatic parable. Bruegel showed doctor and patient with unabashed directness, as they behaved in an ordinary operation. Bosch, on the other hand, in the tondo in the Prado (109, Plate 99), hints at the pictorial joke in mien and gesture, invests the stiff charlatanry with comedy and double meaning. Bosch proceeds from the intellectual, Bruegel from the material. For Bruegel, purely visible existence was worthy of being delineated. For Bosch, it becomes noteworthy only as folly, terror, sensation; and everything that is visible is harnessed to a systematic world view reaching from Heaven to Hell, a system in which man is victim or comedian or one possessed.

Colourful popular speech was not the sole source of genre motives. Moral ideas like the mortal sins were exemplified by events from life—by Bosch in the table top in the Escorial (104, Plate 95), for example.

A third source opened up in the parables related by the Saviour. Bosch represented the *Prodigal Son* in a small tondo, now in the Figdor collection at Vienna (103, Plate 94). A lean fellow is hastily yet wearily making towards the right, casting a furtive glance backwards. Beset by vicissitudes, burdened with his belongings, in tattered-malion clothes, he is shaking the dust from his feet. In the left middleground stands the suspect house whence he has been expelled. A soldier who has leaned his over long lance against the wall fondles a woman in the doorway. An old woman looks out the window and seems to be hurling imprecations after the luckless lad.

The dreary, desolate scene, shown in the opaque, light, monotone ochre yellow of dry sand, is heightened to tragicomic effect. The care-worn main figure, artfully balanced, spread out in thin relief over the picture area, draws full attention to its silhouette, its movement, its character. Like all of Bosch's genre scenes, this one lacks unequivocal realism, displaying instead a dubiously squinting and sniggering quality. We are never quite free of the irritating sense that there 'must be something behind it,' that the master is clandestinely alluding to something more than he shows.

Another composition of genre character, the original of which has probably not survived, is known in several versions. A trickster or thimblerrigger is shown outdoors, a scene as from a country fair. On a table between him and his spectators are some cups and balls. The most inquisitive spectator leans far forwards, staring in fascination at the ball in the conjurer's hand, while a young man directly behind seizes the opportunity to lift the gawker's purse that dangles from his belt. The best specimen of this composition known to me is preserved in the museum at St. Germain-en-Laye (105, Plate 96). The picture is impressive in its archaic sparseness, and characteristic of Bosch in the profile views of the main figures. Somewhat enriched in content, the composition recurs in a painting that was formerly in the Crespi collection in Milan (105a, Plate 96). Here the wall that forms the relief background extends only across the left half of the picture. On the right, a view into the distance opens up, with a canal, a bridge, a crowd, and houses. Further to the right, in the middleground, is a kind of animal cage, men seated in front of it. The meaning of these additions remains obscure. We shall scarcely fathom the meaning of the sideshow scene, as presented in the version at St. Germain-en-Laye by characterizing its satire on human folly as no more than a comic genre piece. There may be some hidden allusion or saying, spun out further in the enriched Crespi version, in a manner that defies our comprehension. The specimen that used to be in Milan is almost certainly a copy, as are two similar pictures I saw in private hands in Frankfurt and on the Munich art market (105b). The painting in St. Germain-en-Laye has the best claim to be considered an original.

In a number of his creations, Bosch departs completely from pictorial tradition. The illustrator becomes a storyteller. Moralizing allegories and whole pictorial encyclopaedias arise from his fertile imagination as works of his very own. They have been called dreams, on account of their unreality, but they are far too acute to be dreams. They may belong to the visionary sphere, but they are carefully con-

trived, crafty and cold. Genius begets utterly new categories. Indeed, Bosch's imagination gave birth to scenes so outlandishly absurd that they defy categorization. The *Ship of Fools* in the Louvre and the *Concert in the Egg*, of which a rather good specimen is kept in the museum at Lille, belong to a group of scenes that can scarcely be described, let alone interpreted. In them the laws of nature are completely set at naught, and men and women, with the gravest dedication, engage in mischief and foolery, as though carnival had come to the booby-hatch.

The triptych in the Escorial, dubbed *The Garden of Delights* (110, Plates 100-102) by overall impression rather than exhaustive interpretation, contains puzzles enough. Even Justi, who surely is lacking neither in learning nor in interpretive acumen, has been unable to provide satisfactory enlightenment. On the left shutter, as the opening note, is the creation of Eve in the Garden of Eden; on the right shutter, as the closing, hell with its sinners, expiating their sins in punishment and torture. In between, in the middle, is the apotheosis of sinfulness. At least we are tempted to interpret the puzzling contents of this panel as signifying unredeemed earthly life with its instincts, the curse of the flesh, the burgeoning of desire. However difficult it may be, in the face of this motley throng of creatures, human, animal and vegetable, we shall try to record objectively what can be seen. Stony ground and bodies of water merge imperceptibly, one into the other. Seen from a high vantage-point, the seemingly rising ground supports a veritable forest of bodies—nude men and women, suggestively paired in crowded groups, in varied postures and attitudes, behaving in the most curious fashion. At odds with the description given, no orgiastic or erotic effect issues from this propinquity, if only because the bodies seem almost spectral, then too because they seem to be directed by some higher power, and lastly because the curiously rebuslike presentation transcends ordinary reality, turning aside crude sensuality by its filigree delicacy.

Awakening to desire, creatures emerge from human ova covered with variegated membranes. Two lovers are held captive in a sphere of glass. A flower like a thistle grows from an egg. A face is seen through a round window in another egg, and a mouse is crawling into a glass tube issuing from the window. A fruit with butterfly-wings grows from the back of a woman. Birds are seen, larger than people. These are but examples. The master seems to throw God's creation into confusion. On every hand we see a resistless will to beget, to give birth, to grow, dominating all species and genera, blending and intermingling them. In hell—the shutter joined in causal sequence with the centre panel—the sinners are divided into groups. Lechery is not alone in being punished, gluttons and gamblers too are being put to the rack. Everyone is submitted to infernal torment in the most sophisticated way and in keeping with his particular transgression. Musical instruments are employed as instruments of torture. A pig in nun's habit snuggles up to a wretched sinner.

The second allegorical triptych, also in the Escorial, is known under the title of *The Hay Waggon* (111, Plates 103-105) and presents an apotheosis of vanity. The master proceeds from the Biblical parable: As for man, his days are like grass; but his soaring imagination spins this simple statement into a wealth of pictorial motives. As in *The Garden of Delights*, earthly life is bracketed between beginning and end. On the left shutter is the Creation of Eve, the Fall of Man and the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Sin and death have come into the world. On the right

shutter is hell with its torments. In the middle is heedless, hazardous life with its fleeting pleasures and worldly vanity, symbolized by a highladen hay waggon, atop which, 'twixt angel and devil, two lovers divert themselves with music, the while its wheels menace and crush the people. Following behind the waggon is all mankind, represented by various dignitaries, pope and emperor at the head. Ahead of the waggon is the devilish host. Life is heedlessly drifting towards hell. Its pleasures are bedded high on the soft, swaying hayload, symbol of the everlasting thought that All Is Vanity. Subsidiary groups exemplify the frantic struggle for survival—murder and blind instinct in manifold form. The moralizing allegory is projected with sovereign skill and playful agility, the basic notion varied in highly personal, novel and ingenious fashion.

The Character of Jerome Bosch

At pains to prove worthy of his title, the art historian views his task as one of fitting every master as a link into the chain, of recording for every phenomenon a family tree of causes. But whoever appreciates the complex roots of even the simplest event is likely to tackle only with scepticism and resignation the kind of problems that art historians commonly approach with considerable confidence. To be of value, a genealogy should show no gaps. Yet it is precisely completeness the historian can in no circumstances achieve. This impossibility should be ever borne in mind, as should the great danger woven into historical method. No sooner is every quality seen as a consequence, when innocence drops away from observation. Inevitably, those qualities stand out whose causes happen to lie at the observer's fingertips, while others whose causes are hidden from him are overlooked.

Our first task must be to deepen and refine our contemplation of what we can see, free of all prejudice, and quite independent of any craving to uncover causal contexts.

Jerome Bosch is one master who tends to throw art historians into a dither, because he seems to resist being fitted into any orderly scheme of evolution. In consequence, he is often omitted, or disposed of in a few words.

Jerome Bosch stands off to one side, distinct from his Netherlandish contemporaries, not merely on account of his ideational frame of reference—something that has been everywhere remarked—but for the pace and temperament of his work, a matter less commonly stressed. Where others are plodding and heavy-handed, he wears wings, has the agility of a dancer. They cleave to their models, he delves into his rich imagination. They are subservient to nature, he is playful to the point of frivolity. They repeat the traditional types and compositions with a bit of innovation here, a slight modification there, he is inexhaustibly fertile in invention.

There has been a curious tug of war about Bosch. Some have seen him as a radical pioneer, others as a laggard obscurantist, still ridden by mediaeval fears. His position in the sequence of time is indeed hard to fix, for he refuses to fall into line at any stage of general development.

There is no reason for assuming that he was so cut off in his backwater that he did not even know the achievements of Jan van Eyck. One might rather put it like this: So personal was the stamp of his mind and his way of seeing that those achievements had little meaning for him. Netherlandish painting, 'founded' by Jan van Eyck, pursued the illusion of spatial, material, three-dimensional reality. All means were subordinated to the service of this task. Bosch, on the other hand, created his own formal idiom, to serve his highly individual creative purpose. He simply could not rest content with the detailed, lingering observation of nature and plodding workmanship that stood in high esteem in the Netherlandish workshops as the foremost virtue of the craft. What he had to communicate was already thought out, and the visions that crowded in on him called for a dashing kind of brushwork. Historians have much concerned themselves with the world of Bosch's thoughts,

less so with his formal idiom. He lived between 1470 and 1510, in 's Hertogenbosch. He was a man of a certain cast of mind, and no other. There is not much wisdom in saying that he was predestined to it, because he lived in that time and place. Had his people displayed a marked propensity for Satanism in the second half of the 15th century, something of the kind should be reflected in print, woodcut and engraving, statistically, so to speak. In fact, virtually nothing of this is found in the pictorial fare on which the people fed.

About 1550, a fair span after Bosch's death, we note a fashionable revival of his pictorial world, a kind of general hobby. The masters who worked about 1510 were indeed now and then stimulated by the example of Bosch, especially the major painter who has been tentatively identified as Jan de Cock. Proper imitations of Bosch, on the other hand, unless they are careful replicas from the master's own studio, were for the most part done only towards the middle of the 16th century and even later. Masters who painted in his spirit did not begin their work before 1530. Jan Mandyn, whom van Mander introduces as a follower of Bosch¹, was born in 1502 in Haarlem and went to Antwerp shortly before 1530. A signed work by him was in the Palazzo Corsini in Florence². Beginning in 1557, Gilles Mostaert became his pupil and a signed picture by that painter, dated 1573, is preserved in Stockholm. Frans Verbeek of Mechlin, whom van Mander likewise describes as an imitator of Bosch³, entered the guild in 1531 and died in 1570. Pieter Huys became a master in Antwerp in 1545 and was still working in 1577. A signed picture—a Bosch imitation in the true sense—in the Mayer van den Bergh collection is dated 1577, another in the Prado 1570. Herri met de Bles, about 1540, occasionally enlivened his harmless landscapes with Bosch motives. The work of Pieter Bruegel begins about 1550. None of these painters was, properly speaking, a disciple of Bosch. Their reversion to Bosch's universe coincides with the tendency towards entertaining absurdity that began to sweep the courts about 1550. When Guevara sought out works by Bosch, the demand elicited imitations that did not deceive the Spaniard's acute eye. The imitators—even the great Bruegel—were meeting a demand, while Bosch was led to his themes by his innate disposition. It was the content, the compositional approach, the motives that were imitated. Brushwork and formal idiom, on the other hand, are so entirely different in the imitations, that to mistake them for originals is a mere matter of ignorance.

Any geographical deductions are foredoomed. 's Hertogenbosch is today part of Holland, but whether the town can be accounted Dutch in culture is very doubtful. The region is called North Brabant, but that is of little use to the art historian.

The sole source and point of departure for our limited knowledge is the master's unique, creative character. It is always easy to prophesy *ex post facto*. The time had come. True, there were ancestors, although a complete pedigree is lacking. Bosch's world of ideas was already hoary with age, and even its pictorialization was not new. In church gargoyles, in choir pew carvings, in manuscripts, nightmarish invention stirred in the early Middle Ages, soon lapsing into a fondness for the grotesque that made fun of evil. These decorative embellishments, grinning masks and leering figures, were made part and parcel of the architecture, smuggled in, so to speak. The church tolerated such secular intervention with equanimity. Sure of her sover-

1. German edition, p. 63.

2. Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*. The picture is now in the Haarlem museum.

3. P. 219.

eignty, she could allow pagan echoes, primitive humour, crude genre, just as kings could afford jesters.

Bosch's panel paintings became the rallying-point for the scattered treasure, for spinning out in epic breadth and pictorial context the hallucinatory world that had ghosted about for centuries. The rule of the church was on the point of losing its universal grip. Bosch's attitude towards Christian doctrine differed from that of the mediaeval masons and scribes. He turned things inside out. Faith in the certainty of redemption had been shaken. Whatever Bosch's own faith, or whatever he thought he believed, he was by instinct a pessimist, and, above all, an artist. The Devil was overtly in control—but his dominion had lost its terror. Mankind, about to shrug off belief in him, objectified the whole rigmarole, and by objectifying it got the better of it. The torments and terrors of hell could be faced down, now that they were no longer feared. Wit and mockery have always been a sign of intellectual freedom and detachment. In Bosch's mind, the world was unregenerate and full of hidden demons, yet at the same time a passing folly, a changing kaleidoscope that amused and entertained. In blending the world with the hereafter, he gained the raw material for his freaks and sideshows and masquerades.

It is not as though Bosch were craftily intent upon pleasing the worldly and the devout at one and the same time. He feasted his eyes on the shadow side of Christian dogma, and horror to him became a game of grace and even elegance. Behind every tree lurked a spook, everything aped and mocked the beholder, for it was half one thing, half another. Hell with its terrors sent a pleasant shudder up the spine. It held more entertainment and variety than anything heaven had to offer.

There was only one virtue, but many sins, only one God, but many devils. Views of heaven, of the saints, of the godhead, freighted with tradition, were projected with diffident care and small sympathy, while the multiplicity of desires, the abundance of punishments in the bowels of hell stimulated visions of infinite richness. Bosch was more at home in hell than in heaven, familiar particularly with torture chambers and the Devil's military table of organization. His pictorial notions were not new—they can be traced back to ancient times in literature and popular superstition⁴. Taking the concept of invention in the literal sense, Bosch did not invent a great deal. All he did was to enrich traditional ideas—and that during the age of discovery. His vision fed on reports and descriptions of new lands, he used the scientific achievements of engineering and technology with wit to contrive infernal war devices. What he pursued was in effect a pseudo science, bearing the same relationship to biology that astrology does to astronomy. Dimly anticipating the struggle for existence and the laws of organic growth, he meddled with the Creator's handiwork.

With anthropological interest, the Negro Magus was delineated with racial fidelity, while the Saviour was seen as a mild-mannered wayfarer who has fallen in with drunken savages. The adversaries of Jesus resemble barbarians decked out like Red Indians.

Innocence was pale and inconsequential in appearance, helplessly and pitifully suffering, while the Devil was full of vigour and spirit. Sinful nature was full of guile, and the master sat at her feet. He was on the side of instinctive sensuality, not by any means as a yielder to it, a truculent Promethean, but rather as a spectator

4. Cf. Dollmayr, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Königshauses*, vol. 19, p. 284.

who enjoys the proceedings and takes part in shaping them. It was only a step further to affirmative pantheism, which was to challenge Christian dualism consciously and deliberately. Bosch meant to moralize and pillory, but unwittingly his work took on the character of an apotheosis.

It is all like a dream—the blend of nonsense and tangible realism, the abrupt alternation of incidents, the brazen leaps across the limits set by nature, the protracted tension, the endless repetition, the wallowing in torture. It is a dream dreamt by a resourceful dreamer who was at once an astute observer of nature.

The hereafter was necessarily conceived from an intimate familiarity with the world as it is here and now. Bosch, the creative illustrator, painted by heart rather than from life, but his invention predicated a profound and precise knowledge of the visible world. Animals, especially, he was able to draw with masterly verisimilitude—whenever he left them their natural form, which was seldom enough.

His memory was a veritable storehouse of such forms, from which his imagination—by transposition, cumulation and multiplication—enabled him to create a world of magic. His very arbitrariness of scale worked wonders. Eggs become as large as people, familiar animals leap into strange bulk and mingle with his monsters.

The Boschian imagination was a retort rather than a natural wellspring, a bubbling vat from which absurd combinations were ever rising. An object that begins as a sailing ship may end up as a fish, possibly as a human being, but in any event, not as a sailing ship. He dizzily whirled together fauna and flora, the works of nature and of man, artifacts and growing things, plants and architecture, the mechanical and the organic, his morphological wit adorning God's handiwork with marginal notes and curlicues.

The master was anything but sparing with his means. He fired with a shotgun rather than a rifle, enhancing quantity rather than measure. The evil one was not an omnipotent ruler. His power was fragmented into a mass of creatures like vermin. It is not Bosch's notions themselves that are inspired, but rather the way he projected them pictorially. The visual wit he created lies in the seeing. Form arose along with thought, which it fitted like a glove. All the formal qualities—composition, space, figuration, postures—were governed by a highly individual view inherent in the creative approach, and that is why they are original and all of a piece. Significant to Bosch's character as for his ideals of form was his marked aversion to tectonics and mathematical ornament. His structures are plantlike, with domes that resemble fruit, with excrescences, unstable, obliquely stratified. His dying houses extrude their guts. They are picturesque, plantlike, expressive, like natural things. And if Bosch's structures look organic, his organic elements are reminiscent of ornament. His very imagination was crammed with ornament, but it was an ornament that was aggressively vital and luxuriant rather than geometrical.

The master immersed himself in the bizarre wealth of artful creations nature brings forth, seeking to imitate and outstrip them in his mania for decoration. Nature marks and patterns her creatures, but not as rigidly and pedantically as man designs his works with compass and ruler. Bosch was particularly fond of following the picturesque growth characteristics of organic life—even rows of knots, beads and spots, skins that are tiger-striped or sprinkled, scales and feathers and knobby carapaces. He favoured cactuses, growths of arid succulence, hinting of animals,

tempting, mocking, pricking. He sought out nature at the point where she becomes unnatural. The earth was the Devil's province, and whatever grows from her was venomous and at once enticing.

Bosch softened up the works of man, crumbled his structures, looking upon growth as something that arises by hidden laws. Under his hands, the realms of nature merged.

His forms are threadlike and knife-sharp, instinct with direction, movement, greed. They stretch and writhe and wallow, driven by an irresistible will. Bodies are all extremities and appendages—organs of movement, tails, horns, long snouts, claws, whether as vicious weapons or graceful adornments. Everything is pervaded by a vital force, branching out into all directions. They flutter, creep, totter in everlasting movement, these creatures, only the godhead remaining fixed and put. The Devil is ever ready, ubiquitous, ceaselessly busy with his work of torture and seduction.

The human body is made expressive, although essentially only in outline, in profile. It is delicately rendered, lacking in detail and interior line. The gist of the organism is given in slight, weightless, Gothic figures, with indifference to the skeleton and with sexual characteristics indistinctly marked.

If the organism was but superficially apprehended, its equipment, dress and adornment focussed Bosch's interest and close attention. His narrative vision revelled in the covering shroud, in trains and trimmings, taking its fill of the incalculable.

Bosch disliked to approach the scale of life, and he did so felicitously and successfully only when he could distort form and feature into a grotesque mask. No portraitist was he. Of no concern to him the given, individual case. Only the special case, the physiognomical curiosity, the character out of the ordinary, the extreme of emotional expression fascinated him to the point of clear characterization on a large scale. As a connoisseur of mankind, he was morbidly preoccupied with the sick, the possessed, the deformed. Dignity, sublimity, purity are depicted in empty, general terms, in lightcoloured discs in which nose, mouth and eyes are but faintly indicated. The master seemed to be aware of the danger of lapsing into caricature, when he came to clear-cut individualization. When giving expression to the sacred, he scarcely ventured beyond a vacant stare of amazement, or a sickly expression of concern. His devoutness is pale in effect, even slips off into suggestiveness, as when his pious characters seem to wink at us sidelong, letting on that they are only play-acting at innocence.

Deep as Bosch entered into the growth processes of beast and plant, he was utterly perplexed, in his unceasing quest of adventure, by the innocence and simplicity of natural events. To him Mother Nature was a cunning sorceress and trickster.

In composition, Bosch tended towards relief. Even when the abundance of his visions and his masses of figures urgently called for spatial depth, he was fond of resorting to a multi-tiered construction. He did indicate depth by foreshortening the scale and elaborating the perspective, but he tended to raise his horizon in an old-fashioned way. Back becomes top. He did not properly utilize his spatial depth for the deployment of his figures, whom he grouped essentially in thin and almost transparent layers. His characters do not operate from back to front, or front to back, but prefer the dimension of the picture plane. They appear in procession,

in side-view. Character, movement, configuration are manifested in outline.

A tireless storyteller, Bosch troubled little about the realism and context of locale. When all was topsy-turvy, why should space follow the rules of logic? At times Bosch was altogether unmindful of place and simply terminated his composition at the back with a neutral surface. When the countryside did preoccupy his imagination, it was vast and desolate, with rolling dunes and a thin cover of trees. When his joy in storytelling and decoration pre-empted foreground and middle-ground, the background stayed on its own. His longing for firmness and tranquility, for an uninterrupted view, was turned into the distance.

Bosch painted no landscapes as such—indeed, the familiar lineaments of his earthly home took up little room in the world of his ideas. Yet his observation of distance, in terms of colour and form, did manifest a pure feeling for nature. The line of the horizon ranges in solemn remoteness from the seething, greedy throng that crowds his forward stage. His distant horizons, to which only a modest share of his paintings was devoted, became the model for the style of landscape painting that grew into a separate speciality early in the new century. Whether or not affiliations in training are assumed to have existed between Bosch and Patenier, the first landscape painting that stands out on its own is constructed in a fashion similar to Bosch's background, which, on some occasions, as in the *St. Jerome* in Ghent, is rich and deep in mood.

The countryside, seen from a vantage-point of some height, gains expression and organization in the distance, or, if you wish, at the top, mainly by the hill profiles, headlands and rows of trees with perfectly spherical foliage, and it is not enclosed anywhere. This system of horizontal features is intersected at right angles by lone, thin trees, like reeds. The coloration to the fore is a brownish yellow and a green that has taken on, for the most part, a black tinge, on account of the varnish. The middleground is a greenish blue, shading into many tints of blue towards the background, and ending in transparent, neutral, airy tones. The various distances are not set off sharply, one from the other, but merge imperceptibly, so that the plain, which rises up like a wall for the figures in front, stretches away without a break.

Since Bosch usually painted distant vistas with many small figures, his coloration is light and his style adapted to remoteness. Trees in the background are massed into dark, gentle woods. The brushwork is nimble and mobile, sometimes swift, sometimes subtle, the pigments being applied now in impasto, now like a glaze. The colour scheme is an opaque ochre, or again luminous, transparent, iridescent, sparkling, flashing like steel, depending on the mood assigned to the various parts. Bosch did not observe nature for her own sake, but in the service of the story he was telling, the expression he was seeking. Thus he reached the ultimate limits, when it came to elaborating deserts, or the towering flames of hellfire, or the amphibian softness of repulsive creatures, or the sharp points and edges of torture instruments. The qualities of transparency, iridescence and silk are depicted in pure, light brushwork—opalescent or nacreous surfaces such as mark the wings of butterflies and dragonflies. Contours are often drawn sharply, almost graven.

Van Mander noted down some remarkable sentences on Bosch's technique: 'He often painted his pieces at a single sitting, which is why his pictures have not

changed colour and have kept their beauty. Like certain other masters, he was in the habit of drawing his compositions on the white ground of the panel and laying glaze pigments over this. Sometimes too he included the ground in his effect.'

When in our rôle of stylistic critics we seek to form an idea of Bosch's teachers, of the traditions which he followed, we scarcely get beyonds statements in the negative. Careful training in formal knowledge seems not to have been Bosch's forte. His beginnings were innocuous and on a small scale. His flair for storytelling stirred at an early age. He was never drawn to the monumental, for he never had any affinity for architecture or sculpture. His teachers must have been provincial panel painters, perhaps book illustrators, who left no lasting imprint on their inspired student. There are Netherlandish engravings from the time around 1450 that are reminiscent of Bosch's style in compositional approach and the keen and vehement animation of their figures.

Drawings by Bosch and Engravings after his Compositions

66 Drawings by Jerome Bosch have come down to us, just as they have in the case of other painters of the 15th century. There is a difference, however. In studying those other masters, we resorted to drawings—whether originals or copies—for the sake of their pictorial content, to gain an idea of paintings that have been lost. In the case of Bosch, the wealth of motives in the surviving paintings is so overwhelming that we scarcely seem to stand in need of supplementation. Even so, such additions would more appropriately come from engravings than from drawings.

In formal terms, Bosch's drawings are quite different from his paintings. Yet in their contrast with the idiom of the brush, they actually confirm it, deepening our appreciation of the master's vision, who is thus seen to be speaking in two voices. It is the technical means that determine style—things like paper, wood panels, pen, brush. None can escape the grip of tools and materials; but quite aside from this, Bosch the draughtsman, unlike his contemporaries, was a different artist from Bosch the painter, not so much by the imaginative content of his drawings as by the mind-set with which he approached them.

Now it is true that a Rembrandt drawing differs from a Rembrandt painting much more than, say, a drawing by Rogier van der Weyden does from one of his paintings. One can make the general statement that in the evolution of art, drawing and painting tend to diverge. As for Bosch, in hastily noting down pictorial ideas, in putting down on paper the immense wealth of notions that came to him, he was lending expression to his temperament, he was giving vent to his innate playfulness with far greater freedom and spontaneity than in his paintings. In this, he was in advance of his contemporaries. The draughtsman is not at all beset and inhibited by his patron's wishes and demands. There is no need to please anyone else. The artist's own personality emerges far more clearly, the more so when the grip of tradition has been loosened.

Bosch drew with a pen, not with a metal stylus. He drew 'by heart' rather than from life, yet he displays an astonishingly intimate knowledge of nature, quite independent of any given, individual object or model. His imagination was always active in complete freedom. His inventiveness kept welling up without cease.

Two drawings in the Louvre stand alone, *The Ship of Fools*¹ (Plate 97), and *The Miser*² (Plate 117). Conceived in pictorial terms, done with equal care, with high-lighting in white, these sheets resemble the paintings, particularly those in grisaille, with which Bosch was fond of adorning the reverse of his panels, the outside of his altarpiece shutters, and various frames and spandrels.

The drawn version of *The Ship of Fools*, the 'Concert in the Boat,' cannot by any stretch be considered a sketch or preliminary drawing for the painting that is likewise in the Louvre. Without being able to settle the question of whether it was done before the painting or after, I have it in my mind that the master did the composition in more than one form. Certainly this drawing, like *The Miser*, is a finished piece of work.

1. Photo Giraudon, No. 14, 120; Lafond, opposite p. 70.

2. Auctioned by Muller, Amsterdam, in 1926.

I know of no more than 15 other drawings, all done in pen-and-ink, without highlighting in white. None of them can be properly described as a sketch for a painting. For the most part, both sides of the paper have been utilized, surely the mark of an artist given to making studies. I do not believe, however, it can be shown that these studies were ever used. Bosch did not need systematic preliminary work. Whether painting or drawing, he was always ready to go, filled with a knowledge of nature that was sufficient for his purposes. When he did not paint, he drew, and the speed of pen-and-ink drawing accorded with his temperament and wealth of ideas. He did not experiment. He was sure of himself. He was able to draw or paint motives of almost equal merit, without effort, in a style that was quite unchanging. The only difference is that the swift and fluid output of his pen is more idealized in effect than his painting. Absence of colour was well suited to the unreality of his visions and admirably expresses the airy character of his remote vistas.

Such was Bosch's creative disposition that once he had given expression to a motive, he was unable to revert to it, to elaborate it, to do it again. Starting afresh, he always introduced a new angle, produced another combination. To paint or to draw always meant to him to invent.

Several of his sheets, like one in the Louvre³, and another in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett⁴ with figures crowding the paper, are in a hand that merely hints and omits much. Freed from the reality of space, they show extreme caprice of configuration, yet remain profoundly realistic.

The master's imagination never gets away from the idea of temptation. The saint is always startled by demons, but he beholds ever new and different creatures that terrify him, precisely because he is seeing them for the first time. It is in the nature of these creatures that no one is inured to their sight.

Line in these drawings followed the master's whim. It is now delicate, now coarse, sometimes detailed, again fleeting, heedless and unhesitating, conveying an illusion of movement, expression and character with a sense of urgency and immediacy. Bosch drew like the painters of the 17th century, more swiftly and casually than his successor, Pieter Bruegel, stimulated and amused by his own notions. He was always in a hurry to get done with one figure, for a second and third and still more kept rising in his mind. Apart from the sheets that look like sample cards of monsters, there are beginnings of pictorial compositions, like the *Owl in a Hollow Tree*⁵, and that richest of all, very difficult to title. It shows a huge creature with a human head and the body of a bird, with tree trunks standing in two boats serving as the legs. A feasting company is seen through an opening in the body⁶. This composition has been employed in a mediocre painting in the Prado at Madrid, inscribed *Visio Tandalii*. The pen-and-ink landscape in the background, expressed in an astonishingly impressionistic vein, resembles the Berlin drawing with the owl, where the countryside is covered with eyes and ears.

When we take as our standard those freely drawn sheets that were manifestly done by the artist responsible for the invention, and that could have been done by no one except Bosch, a number of items in various collections to which his name is attached, and which Lafond and other authors ascribe to him, fall by the wayside. To the limits of my own knowledge, I regard the following as drawings by Bosch's own hand:

3. Giraudon, No. 503.

4. No. 548 in the catalogue.

5. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, No. 549.

6. Albertina, Vienna.

Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin 1241, Catalogue No. 550: Studies on both front and back of a sheet given a reddish tinge (Plate 124).

a. Two fabulous animals.

b. A human head with legs.

Berlin, Catalogue No. 548: Studies on front and back (Plate 124).

a. Monsters, and a man lying on an anvil, being belaboured by men with hammers.

b. Monsters.

Berlin, Catalogue No. 547: Studies on front and back (Plate 125).

a. Two fabulous animals.

b. A turtle.

Berlin, Catalogue No. 549: Studies on front and back (Plate 125).

a. An owl in a hollow tree.

b. Various figures, a few subsequently added in a weaker hand.

Berlin, Catalogue No. 777: A peasant at full-length and three bust-length figures (Plate 126).

Berlin, Catalogue No. 711: Studies on front and back (Plate 126).

a. *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 76.

b. A company of men inside a broken egg.

Albertina, Vienna: A fantastic composition (cf. p. 67, above, Plate 127).

Albertina, Vienna: A cursory sketch of two women, (Plate 127), reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 68.

Academy, Vienna: A man carrying a ship, in which people are being tortured (Plate 126), reproduced in Schönbrunner-Meder, No. 824.

Louvre, Paris: A study with women carrying objects (Plate 127). Catalogued as a Bruegel, on account of the signature.

Louvre, Paris: *The Ship of Fools* (Plate 97). Carefully done, with highlights (cf. p. 66, above). Photo Giraudon, No. 14,120.

Louvre, Paris: *The Miser* 1251 (Plate 117). Carefully done, with highlights (cf. p. 66, above), reproduced in Muller's auction catalogue, Amsterdam, 1926.

Louvre, Paris: *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (Plate 128). Photo Giraudon, No. 503.

Louvre, Paris: Studies on front and back (Plate 128).

a. A conjurer, with spectators.

b. A fantastic concert.

Both sketches are reproduced in Lafond, opposite pp. 70 and 72.

British Museum, London: A comical barber scene (Plate 127), reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 72. This group forms part of a carnival composition of many figures, mediocre in execution, preserved in the Albertina, Vienna, with a spurious Bruegel signature (reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 66). It was published as an engraving by Jerome Cock.

University Gallery, Oxford 1261: Studies on front and back (Plate 129).

a. Nineteen beasts and monsters.

b. Seventeen monsters.

Reproduced in Colvin, *Selected Drawings in... Oxford*, vol. 4, Pl. 13.

Morgan Library, New York (Murray collection): A study of a group of figures,

for a *Christ Shown to the People* (Plate 128), reproduced in *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings... Formed by C.F. Murray* (London), Pl. 112.

Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden: Studies on front and back, motives of hell and torture; a priest (Plate 129).

All other 'Bosch drawings' discussed by Lafond and others are either imitations, or quite foreign to the master, for example the important drawing in Dresden, *St. John and the Virgin, Mourning* (reproduced in Woermann, *Die Zeichnungen im Dresdner Kupferstichkabinett*, vol. 4, Pl. 2).

Even drawings that seem to be authenticated as Bosch's work by publication as engravings under his name fail to withstand searching criticism. Thus a sheet showing many cripples, in the Albertina (reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 66), while indeed published by Cock as being by Bosch (Lafond, opposite p. 96), seems nevertheless to have been done by Pieter Bruegel rather than Bosch; and Bruegel, at Cock's behest, made drawings for the engravers from sketches by Bosch. Thus, in the case of the engraving *Big Fish Eat Little Fish*, published by Jerome Cock over the name of Bosch as *inventor*, we have the reversed drawing with Bruegel's signature in the Albertina (the engraving reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 92, the drawing in Tolnay, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels*, Pl. 28).

Engravings with Boschian compositions do not by any means directly reproduce paintings, but are done from drawings, for the most part not Bosch's own. Thus the connection is indirect, and in this process, the original has not been spared. Interest in Bosch's pictures extended to the ideas rather than the forms. A sharp distinction must be made between the group of engravings made in Bosch's lifetime, and those published by Jerome Cock between 1550 and 1560. The first group claims greater interest than the second. Around 1550 the fantastic world of Bosch underwent a revival. Paintings by his posthumous disciples testify to the taste for the diabolical that then prevailed. For want of originality, they fed on the heritage of the master, long since dead. The very name Bosch signified appeasement of sensationalism, titillation and occult meaning. Jerome Cock did a flourishing business with the name.

The early engravings are almost exclusively the work of an engraver close to the master in time, place and person, into whose identity we are able to gain some insight. We find signatures on these sheets—besides a confused jumble of letters beginning with a plainly discernible Gothic A, the word *bosche*, and next to it occasionally the name *Hameel*. It can be shown that from 1478 to 1494, and again after 1502, roughly coinciding with the time when Bosch worked in 's Hertogenbosch, there lived in that town an architect named Alart du Hameel; and since some of the signed engravings contain prickly ornamentation of late Gothic type and considerable originality, it becomes very likely that they stem from this architect, who worked in 's Hertogenbosch and Louvain. The word *bosche* must be taken to be a geographical designation rather than an indication of Bosch as the inventor. It should be borne in mind too that the naming of two authors, the inventor beside the executor, is unexampled in 15th century engravings and would have run counter to then current ideas of intellectual property. Some of the engravings with du Hameel's signature were evidently done after Jerome Bosch, while others, notably the ornamented sheets, were probably of his own devising. There remains, lastly,

a third group, of which a third master may be considered to have been the inventor.

Once we have rid ourselves of the prejudice that du Hameel was no more than reproducer and interpreter—a prejudice derived in the main from an erroneous reading of the signature *bosche*—little remains that might expand our ideas of Bosch's art.

70 Three engravings, especially, are reminiscent of Bosch's style. They are:

a. *The Last Judgment* (Plate 133, reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 82).

b. *The War Elephant* (Plate 133, reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 86).

c. *St. Christopher* (Plate 133), Passavant II, p. 286, No. 10 (reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 82).

The *Last Judgment* contains a composition similar to the triptychs in Vienna and Bruges, and still closer to the panel in the Pacully collection, although no part of it can be shown to be a copy. We sense in this engraving a familiarity with triptych organizations, and it is contrived no less ingeniously than the paintings. So Bosch-like is it in form that we are entitled to assume a drawing by the master served as the model. A similar verdict must be passed on the *War Elephant*, an audacious invention that is thoroughly in the spirit of Bosch and that is composed in a manner well in accord with the master's familiar style. The elephant carries a turret on his back and is placed amid a battle scene, evidence of a preoccupation with cunning war machines. All take flight and cover before the walking fortress. A painting by Bosch with this theme, by the way, is mentioned as having been in the possession of Philip II. The situation is rather different in the case of the *St. Christopher*, which is by comparison a cruder work. In paradoxical caprice, land and water are here crowded with Boschian figures and motives. An exaggerating imitator rather than Bosch himself seems to have been responsible for this composition.

All the other engravings by du Hameel, like the ornamental ones and the *Lovers at the Well*, can scarcely be considered to go back to Bosch, nor can the pendants, *The Vision of Emperor Constantine*, and *Emperor Heraclius Enters Jerusalem*. Winkler associates the last-named engravings with two paintings that seem to have been done by an imitator of Bosch⁷, a *Christ Bearing the Cross*, in the Brussels museum (from the Cardon collection, 112, Plate 107), and a *Crucifixion*, in the Capilla Real at Granada⁸ (113, Plate 107). The connection between the two paintings seems entirely plausible, but I am not wholly convinced that the engravings must have been made by this particular Bosch imitator. Apart from du Hameel's engravings, there are a few others with Bosch motives that seem to have been done in the master's lifetime, judging from their character, namely a grotesque battle scene⁹, engraved a bit clumsily, but altogether like a study by the master; and a study sheet showing Job with two musicians, bearing the designation *bos*¹⁰ (Plate 134).

The fairly extensive series of engravings Jerome Cock published between 1550 and 1570 over Bosch's name should be accepted only with caution. Their formal idiom and imperfect translation is quite likely to lead us astray, nor should more than passing reliance be placed on the compositions, for the draughtsmen who worked for Cock had no compunction, we may be sure, in intervening by changing shifting and supplementing them. Presumably Cock owned a store of more or less hasty sketches by Bosch, although he may have occasionally commissioned engravings after paintings, for example, after the triptych of the *Last Judgment*.

7. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 44, 1923, p. 142 ff.

8. Engravings and paintings are reproduced in Winkler, *loc. cit.*

9. Reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 102.

10. Reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 88.

Supplement to Jerome Bosch

Two exhibitions in recent years have served to deepen and broaden our picture of Bosch's art, one held in Paris in 1935 under the title *De van Eyck à Bruegel*, and another held in Rotterdam in 1936. This is particularly owing to the fact that on both occasions the master's dazzling *chef d'œuvre* from the Lisbon museum was on view, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, its almost inexhaustible wealth of pictorial ideas arousing the profoundest admiration.

Oddly enough, at least two replicas of the centrepiece of the Lisbon triptych have turned up, both laying serious claim to being considered works of the master's own hand. It becomes a question of principle whether such claims should not be rejected from the outset. We can scarcely believe that a master endowed with such torrential inventiveness should have copied himself. On the other hand, our aversion to such self-copying may be no more than a prejudice flowing from modern conceptions of the artist's calling.

We may envisage that there were commissions in which patrons insisted on exact repetitions by the master's own hand of particularly successful creations. It does not seem plausible, moreover, that Bosch had disciples and assistants who were able to paint deceptively close copies of the work of their master, which is as personal and free as handwriting.

There is a curiously precise replica of *The Hay Waggon*, which is now in the Prado at Madrid (No. 2052, formerly at various locations; III a-c, Plate 106). It is better preserved than the specimen in the Escorial and carries the master's signature, which the latter lacks. So far as I can judge, the Madrid triptych is in no way inferior to the generally acknowledged original in the Escorial.

A free replica of the oft-copied *Adoration* in the Prado has recently entered the collection of Viscount Bearsted; but its shutters bear totally different compositions from the Madrid altarpiece, both inside and out (Plate 50).

One of the two replicas of the centrepiece of the Lisbon triptych is in the possession of the Paris art dealer d'Atri (271), while the other has entered the collection of Dr. Barnes in Philadelphia (281). I have examined them both, with the distrust that is indicated in such cases. Arguments militating for a painting having been done by a master's 'own hand' depend very largely on comparison. It was made convenient to study the Lisbon panel searchingly in Paris and Rotterdam. Divergences and shifts are discernible in many details. Nowhere does one see signs of the fatigue that so commonly accompanies mechanical copying, nothing is left out or misunderstood, for the sake of convenience. All the motives in which the replicas depart from the acknowledged original manifest the spirit and inventive imagination of the master. Let me point out only a few traits that demonstrate this. On the table set with food behind the saint a lean lizardlike creature rears up in the so-called original, but in the Paris specimen it is a stocky, bearlike one. In the Lisbon specimen, as in several copies, the saint's other hand is out of sight, but in both replicas it rests on a stone cube, quite plausibly.

In the ship at the centre below, a bear lies supine, maw open, in place of the seated, rowing gnome.

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From certain signs I am led to believe that the Paris version preceded the Lisbon, and here I enjoy the support of Eigenberger, who cleaned the Paris panel and examined it more carefully than anyone. The horizon lies higher in this composition which is more old-fashioned and constricted in effect. There are many pentimenti that testify to questing and experimentation, signs of originality. In the Philadelphia specimen, the composition is narrowed, simplified and extended in height.

Once one becomes convinced that one replica is indeed by the master's 'own hand', one tends to grow less suspicious in other cases, and thus also to acknowledge for example as Bosch's work the very close copy of the centrepiece of the Lisbon triptych that has entered the van Beuningen collection in Rotterdam (90a, Plate 80).

(from Volume XIV)

Editor's Note on the Catalogues

For the benefit of readers who may not have Volume 11 of this work to hand, certain basic rules governing the Catalogues, which Friedländer established in that volume, are here repeated.

The panels are of oak, unless otherwise stated. Measurements are in centimetres, height preceding width. In the case of altarpieces with shutters, the dimensions of the centrepiece are given first, followed by the width of the shutters.

As explained by the editor in Volume 1, the additional and supplementary data Friedländer assembled in his final Volume, XIV, in this edition follow the appropriate Catalogue entries. Such material is preceded by a small circle (o). Where appropriate, the editor, moreover, has added brief factual information, bringing the entries up to date. These additions are preceded by a small black circle (●). The same system is followed in the *Supplement* and the *Addenda* that follow the Catalogues.

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT

1. (Plate 1) *The Nativity*. National Gallery, London, No. 4081 (32 × 26) (129). From the Kaufmann and Onnes Collections. No. 106 in the auction of the Kaufmann collection at Berlin, 1917. Perfectly preserved. Cf. p. 21, above. • 34 × 25 cm.

2. (Plate 2) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 950A (90 × 70). W. Hekking & Son auction, 1904. Overcleaned. Cf. p. 21 f., above. • No. 950A 1.

3. (Plate 3) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Oskar Reinhart collection, Winterthur (133 × 108). No. 31 in the Utrecht exhibition of 1913 (C. J. de Bordes, Velp), as 'disciple of Geertgen'. The panel was only recently freed of heavy overpainting. Cf. p. 22, above. • Now in the Oskar Reinhart Sammlung am Römerholz, Winterthur; 133 × 103 cm.

4. (Plates 4-6) *The Adoration of the Magi*, altarpiece with shutters. Rudolphinum, Prague, Nos. 222-224 (111 × 69—70 × 38). Left shutter, the donor with St. Bavo; right shutter, the donor's spouse with St. Adrian. Well-preserved. Cf. p. 22 f., above. The panels have been cut down, as may be seen on the verso of the shutters, which carry an Annunciation in grisaille, the heads cropped. The shutters were originally some 40 cm higher. The centrepiece has been narrowed by something like 15 cm, on the left side, where Joseph was presumably shown beside the Virgin. Originally from the imperial palace in Prague. • Now in the Národní Galerie, Prague, Nos. DO 14, 15, 31; III. 5 × 69—71 × 38.5/39 cm.

5. (Plate 7) *The Raising of Lazarus*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2563A (127 × 97). From the collections of Jules Renouvier, Montpellier and Baron d'Albenas, acquired in 1902. Several of the heads are disfigured by restorative work. Cf. p. 19, above. • Inv. No. RF 1285.

6. (Plates 8, 9) *Right shutter of the High Altar of the Order of St. John at Haarlem*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 644 (172 × 139 each). On provenance, cf. p. 12, above. Obverse, *The Lamentation*; reverse, *Julian the Apostate Ordering the Bones of St. John the Baptist to be Burned*. Authenticated as Geertgen's work by van Mander's report, and by an engraving of the *Lamentation* by Theodore Matham (Plate 132), cf. p. 12, above. Well-preserved. • Inv. Nos. 993, 991. The dimensions of the *Lamentation* are 175 × 139 cm, a strip of 3 cm being added on the top of the panel.

7. (Plate 10) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows, Standing in a Sarcophagus*. Utrecht, Museum

(24.5 × 24). Gilt ground. Well-preserved. Cf. p. 23, above. ● Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 63.

8. (Plate 11) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1853 (83 × 55). Formerly in private hands in Madrid, subsequently in the Hollitscher collection, Berlin. Cf. p. 23 f., above. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 81 × 52 cm.

9. (Plate 11) *Virgin and Child in Half-Length*. Ambrosiana, Milan (about 10 × 7). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*, Pl. 4. Cf. p. 24, above. ● 12 × 9 cm.

10. (Plate 12) *The Holy Kindred in a Church*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 950 (137 × 103). Curiously titled in the catalogue as *Allegory on Christ's Sacrifice of Atonement*. On the character of the representation, cf. p. 20, above. Heavily over-painted, especially at the lower left. ● 137.5 × 105 cm.

11. (Plate 13) *St. Bavo, with Sword and Hunting Falcon, in Half-Length*, fragment of a shutter from an altarpiece. The Hermitage, Petersburg (Leningrad). Similar to the picture of the same saint in the Prague triptych, but not a copy. Possibly by Geertgen's hand 1301. ● Inv. No. 5174; 36.5 × 30 cm.

12. (Plate 14) *St. John the Baptist*, seated outdoors. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 163 (42 × 28). From the English collections of W. Cope and Percy Macquoid. No. 34 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Impeccably preserved. Cf. p. 17 f., above 1311. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 1631.

13. *The Legend of the Rosary*.

a. (Plate 13) Städtisches Museum, Leipzig (67 × 105). From the Collection of Dr. U. Thieme. Formerly in the collection of Sir Ch. Turner, London. No. 256 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. A 16th-century copy 1321. Cf. p. 24 f., above. ● Now in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, No. 912; 68.5 × 106 cm.

14. (Plate 15) *Portrait of Anne, Duchess of Cleves*. Collection of Prince G. N. von Leuchtenberg, Petersburg (Leningrad). Present whereabouts uncertain. Rounded at the top. Reproduced in *Les Trésors d'Art en Russie*, 1904, No. 1. Cf. Arras Codex, No. 355 (Photo Giraudon) (Plate 15). A doubtful original. Cf. p. 24, above 1331. ● Now in the National Pushkin Museum, Moscow; on canvas (transferred from wood?), 32 × 22.5 cm.

15. (Plate 15) *The Church of St. Bavo*. Grote Kerk, Haarlem (153 × 225—height 98 cm except in the central top projection). The panel is on the whole well-preserved, and Balet's sharp assertion to the contrary (p. 35 f.) is erroneous. Authenticated by van Mander. Cf. p. 13, above. Reproduced in Balet, opposite p. 34 1341.

CATALOGUE B: PAINTINGS BY FOLLOWERS OF
GEERTGEN, TOGETHER WITH OTHER WORKS FROM
THE FINAL DECADES OF THE 15TH CENTURY

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16. (Plates 16, 17) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne, a Carthusian Monk, and a Female Saint* (Barbara?), diptych. Museum, Brunswick (34 × 22 each). On the verso of the right shutter, St. Bavo. Formerly attributed to Geertgen, but probably the work of an excellent follower, who is also responsible for the paintings that follow, up to No. 22. Cf. p. 31, above 1351. • Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, No. 13; each 35 × 23 cm.

17. (Plate 18) *The Annunciation*. Tate Gallery, London, on loan from W. M. Burrell (44.5 × 36). Part of the same altarpiece as the two next entries. By the Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Cf. p. 32, above. • Now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, W. M. Burrell collection, No. 35/639.

18. (Plate 18) *The Nativity*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 950b (46 × 35). From the C. Hoogendijk collection, given to the museum in 1912. • No. 1538H 1.

19. (Plate 18) *The Presentation in the Temple*. H. V. Jones collection, Minneapolis, U.S.A. (46 × 35). From the J. Normand collection, auctioned in Paris in 1923 (No. 13). • Now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota, gift of Miss Tessie Jones.

20. (Plate 19) *The Taking of Christ. The Entombment*, two shutters from a triptych. Museum, Brussels, No. 829 (62 × 22 each). Reproduced in *Les Arts*, March 1909, p. 4, there attributed to Geertgen. A gift of the Countess de Valencia de Don Juan in 1919. Cf. p. 32, above.

21. (Plate 19) *Sts. Valerian and Cecilia*, from the verso of a triptych. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, 1920—64.5 × 23.5). From the size, possibly the verso of the Brussels diptych (preceding entry). Cf. p. 32, above. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Nos. 1538H 2, 3.

22. (Plate 19) *St. James in Half-Length*, fragment. Emden auction, Berlin, 1910. Reproduced in the auction catalogue. • Has been on loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Mass.), from the collection of A. Schoenlicht, The Hague. Present location unknown; 24 × 14 cm.

23. (Plate 20) *A Triptych*: centre *Virgin and Child*; shutters, *Sts. Christopher and George*. Museum Antwerp (Ertborn collection), Nos. 561-563 (68 × 53—22). Two armorial bearings, one of which shows a wheel. Like the next two panels, this work is by a follower of Geertgen. Cf. Cohen, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 25, 1913, pp. 26 ff. Cf. p. 33, above. • 67 × 51—21 cm.

24. (Plate 20) *Virgin and Child, with the Archangel Michael and a Donor*. Kaiser Fried-

rich Museum, Berlin, No. 1631A (82.5 × 73.5). From private hands in Rostock.
● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

25. (Plate 21) *The Assumption of the Virgin*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 81 (115 × 95). Acquired in 1906. Unresolved armorial bearings. One includes a wheel, as in the Antwerp altarpiece (entry No. 23, above). ● Now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, No. 1043; 114.5 × 94.2 cm.

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26. (Plate 21) *The Descent from the Cross*. Collection of Dr. A. Figdor, Vienna (131 × 102). Cf. Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, new series, Vol. 4, 1896, pp. 9 ff., where reasons are given for an attribution to Geertgen. From Castle Schönau, near Vöslau. Certainly by the same hand as the next entry. Cf. p. 34, above. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. It may belong to the same altarpiece as No. 27. ● No. 2108; 132 × 102 cm. Burned or lost in 1945 (136).

27. (Plate 21) *The Martyrdom of St. Lucy*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 951 (134 × 103). From the Lippmann collection acquired in Vienna in 1897, formerly in the Erasmus Engert collection. No. 17 in the catalogue of the Lippmann collection published by H. O. Miethke in 1876, there attributed to 'Gerhard of Haarlem'. ● No. 1538M 2; 132.5 × 101.5 cm (137).

28. (Plate 22) *The Crucifixion*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 651a (103 × 85). In the background, the Cathedral tower of Utrecht. From the collection of Sir Henry H. Howorth, acquired for the Amsterdam museum in 1905. This is a replica of No. 29, of approximately equal merit. It was shown at the New Gallery, London, in 1899-1900 (No. 244). Cf. p. 34, above. ● No. 1538M 1; 104.5 × 85.5 cm.

29. (Plate 22) *The Crucifixion*. Museum, Utrecht (106 × 86.5). From the church of St. Vitus, Naarden. In the background, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, and Christ Carrying the Cross, subsidiary scenes absent in the otherwise identical composition in Amsterdam (No. 28). Naarden lies midway between Amsterdam and Utrecht. Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Utrecht*, Pl. VI. ● Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 51; 108 × 89 cm.

30. (Plate 22) *The Nativity*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn (Berlin depository), No. 96 (74 × 59.5). In the original frame. Rather damaged or at least neglected. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 1716.

31. (Plate 23) *Portrait of a Man in Half-Length*. Art market, Amsterdam (van Die-men, 1926—36 × 27). A fine work by a follower of Geertgen. Cf. p. 32, above.
● Now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 864.

32. (Plate 23) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey—98 × 83). Entirely in Geertgen's manner, but too weak to be by him, perhaps a copy. Cf. p. 34, above. ● Present location unknown.

33. (Plate 23) *The Holy Family at Supper*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, No. 486 (37 × 24). By a master strongly influenced by Geertgen. Overcleaned in places. Cf. p. 34, above. ○ Probably by Jan Mostaert. Cf. Vol. x, No. 20. ● No. 471.

34. (Plate 24) *Four Female Saints*, Catherine, Barbara, Magdalene, on four panels. James Simon collection, Berlin, present whereabouts doubtful (about 22 × 8). By a somewhat craftsmanlike follower of Geertgen, Cf. p. 35, above. ● Sts. Agnes and Barbara in 1931 in the collection Mrs. Lewis Cass Ledyard, New York; St. Catherine was in that year on the London art market (Knoedler); St. Magdalene now in the W. Boveri collection, Zürich. Each 29.5 × 21.5 cm.

35. (Plate 25) *Virgin and Child with Sts. Catherine and Agnes*. Art market, The Hague (Bachstitz, 1922). From the collection of R. de la Faille (Amsterdam auction No. 1), the panel being sold in the context of a triptych altarpiece. By a follower of Geertgen Cf. p. 35, above. ● Present location unknown.

36. (Plate 24) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Collection of Sir F. Cook, Richmond, No. 474 in publication No. 3 of the collection (97 × 205). By a follower of Geertgen who was strongly influenced by van der Goes, possibly a copy after Geertgen. Cf. p. 35, above (381). ● Now in the collection of Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen.

37. (Plate 25) *Christ Meeting St. John the Baptist*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (No. 347 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2—117 × 97). Attributed to van Ouwater at the Amsterdam auction of 1911. Cf. p. 36, above (391). ● 123.5 × 94 cm.

38. (Plate 26) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, in full-length, and *St. James and a Carthusian monk as donor*. Collection of Privy Councilor Kalkmann, Berlin (82 × 68). From the Lippmann collection, No. 40 in the Berlin auction of 1912. By the same Dutch master as the following paintings, up to No. 41. Cf. p. 37, above. ○ Now in the Wiegand collection, Berlin. ● Present location unknown.

39. (Plate 26) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, in Half-Length. Museum, Utrecht (41 × 31). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühhollländer*, Vol. 2, Pl. v. ● Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 57; 42 × 31 cm.

40. (Plate 26) *Virgin and Child in Full-Length Before a Rose Hedge*. Museum, Utrecht (36 × 27). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühhollländer*, Vol. 2, Pl. III. ● Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, No. 65; 37 × 27 cm.

41. (Plate 26) *The Holy Kindred*. Collection of Professor Lanz, Amsterdam, present location uncertain. ○ Now in the Lückert collection, Amsterdam, where the *Virgin Enthroned* from the Van Welie collection, mentioned on p. 37, is also located (Plate 27) ● Present location unknown; before 1940 on the art market, Amsterdam (W. Paech).

42. (Plate 27) *Altarpiece*: centre, *The Visitation*; shutters, *Sts. Ursula and Gudula*.

Paris auction of 13th June 1913 (59 × 42—61 × 18). On the verso of the shutters, in grisaille, an *Annunciation*. By a Dutch master of about 1500. Cf. p. 37, above.
o Now in the Kunsthaus, Zürich. • Nos. 1939/1940. Gift of Aug. Abegg, 1951.

43. (Plate 28) *St. Martin*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 346 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (41 × 28). By an individual Dutch painter of about 1490, who was influenced by Geertgen. • 45 × 31 cm.

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CATALOGUE C: PAINTINGS BY THE MASTER OF THE VIRGIN AMONG VIRGINS, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT

44. (Plate 29) *The Betrothal of the Virgin*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 349 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (107 × 40). Not unequivocally established as a work of this master.

45. (Plate 29) *The Annunciation*. Von Auspitz collection, Vienna (57 × 48). From private hands in Berlin. Two armorial bearings below (401). o Now in the van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 1568; 57.3 × 47 cm.

46. (Plate 30) *The Nativity*. O. Henkell collection, Wiesbaden. From the von Kaufmann collection, No. 107 in the Berlin auction of 1917 (96 × 78).

47. (Plate 30) *The Nativity*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 645a (90.5 × 68) (411). From the Somzée collection, No. 637 in the 1904 auction. Acquired in 1921. Some parts are in a poor state of preservation, especially the heads of Joseph and the first shepherd. • No. 6375.

48. (Plate 31) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Milan, Brera, No. 622 (126 × 96).

49. (Plate 31) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1672 (63 × 48). Acquired in 1910 on the Paris art market. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

50. (Plate 34) *Altarpiece, The Adoration of the Magi*. Museum Flehite, Amersfoort (69 × 61—27.5). Left shutter, *The Vision of St. Bernard*; right shutter, *St. Jerome*. Verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. On the predella, an inscription: *In't jaer ons heren duseut Vc ende 26 op den 25 dach in die Mey, sterft den eerwerdigen heer Thoms van Snoel, hier op Sintte Petrus' Kerckhof oender die grote Kerck begraven. Bit voer die syel*. In a poor state of preservation, and mediocre in execution. Perhaps by an imitator of the master. On the late dating, cf. p. 40, above. • Now returned to the lender, the almshouse 'Stichting Armen De Poth', Amersfoort.

51. (Plate 32, 33) *Altarpiece, The Adoration of the Magi*. Museum, Salzburg. On the shutters, *The Annunciation*, *The Visitation*, *The Presentation in the Temple* and *The*

Slaughter of the Innocents. Verso, in grisaille, four saints, as statues. Reproduced in *Onze Kunst* Vol. 8, No. 5. • Now in the Museum Carolino Augusteum, Salzburg; 96.5 × 182.5—36.5 cm.

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52. (Plate 35) *Right Shutter from an Adoration of the Magi*, with a group of men and horsemen in the background. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 348 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (73 × 37). From the Hans Schwarz collection, Vienna (Berlin auction).

53. (Plate 35) *Christ shown to the People*. Art market, Rome (Conte Contini, 1923) 1421. Cf. p. 41 f., above. • Auctioned with the Roehrich collection in New York, 1930. • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago, No. 33.1049 (Ryerson Collection); 51.5 × 34.7 cm.

a. (Plate 35) Tate Gallery, London, on loan from Burrell (50 × 35). From the Ch. T. Crews collection, London. A replica with minor divergences, of approximately equal merit, probably by the master's hand. Reproduced in Bouchot, *Exposition des Primitifs Français au Palais du Louvre*, 1904, Pl. 45. • Now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, W. M. Burrell collection, No. 35/300; 54 × 39 cm.

54. (Plate 36) *The Crucifixion*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 906 (57 × 47). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühhollländer in Italien*, Pl. VI. • No. 1237.

a. Merzenich collection, Aachen, A copy with minor changes. The thieves are added.

55. (Plate 37) *Altarpiece, The Crucifixion*. Left, *The Descent from the Cross*; right, *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle (211 × 190—88). The sequence of the scenes is improbable and does not occur elsewhere. The shutters were presumably switched 1431. Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1906, p. 111 in the catalogue. Reproduced in *Les Arts Anciens de Flandre*, 1906. • 218.3 × 194.2—92.6 cm.

56. (Plate 38) *The Crucifixion*. Hansen Gallery, Lucerne (Heinemann; 77 × 59). From the Glitza collection, Hamburg. No. 255 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Reproduced in my publication on the Bruges exhibition, Pl. 83. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Castagnola, near Lugano. • No. 271; 78.5 × 58 cm.

57. (Plate 38) *The Descent from the Cross*. Art market, Paris, 1912 (80 × 62).

58. (Plate 39) *The Lamentation*. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, No. 37 (53 × 53). Cf. p. 39, above. • 55 × 54.8 cm.

59. (Plate 38) *The Lamentation*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (88 × 51). From the collection of Dr. U. Thieme, Leipzig, formerly in Spain. Cf. p. 41, above 1441. • No. 26.26 (Rogers Fund, 1926).

60. (Plate 40) *The Lamentation*. Collection of M. Le Roy, Paris (78 × 64.5). No. 245 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Reproduced in the catalogue of the Le Roy collection as No. 26 1451. • Now in the collection of Mme Marquet de Vasselot, Paris.

61. (Plate 41) *Two Mourning Women and Two Men*. Obverse of two shutters from an *Altarpiece of the Descent from the Cross*, mistakenly assembled into a single panel 1461. Suermondt-Museum, Aachen (85 × 69). Verso, in grisaille, an *Annunciation*. • Nos. 315, 315a.

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62. (Plate 41) *The Holy Trinity*, with the Virgin, St. John, Mary Magdalene and a nun as donatrix. Museum, Zagreb (146 × 127). Published by G. von Térey in *Burlington Magazine*, June 1927, p. 297. The iconography is unusual, in that groups and figures usually shown in Lamentations are here placed at the throne of the Trinity. • Jugoslavenska Akademija, No. 56 71; 146.1 × 128.3 cm.

63. (Plate 41) *Virgin and Child with Sts. Barbara, Catherine, Cecilia and Ursula*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 43 (123 × 102). In the National museum at The Hague as early as 1801. Disfigured by restoration in parts, some of the contours being crudely redrawn. Cf. p. 40 f., above. • Some retouchings have been removed. • No. 1538 v 1.

CATALOGUE D: THE PAINTINGS OF JEROME BOSCH,
ARRANGED BY SUBJECT, IN APPROXIMATELY THE SAME
ORDER AS DISCUSSED IN THE TEXT. SOME WORKS BY
IMITATORS ARE INCLUDED THAT SEEM TO GO BACK TO
BOSCH IN OVERALL COMPOSITION

64. (Plates 42, 43) *The Deluge*. Two shutters, with tondo pictures of allegorical religious scenes on the verso of each. Private ownership, Madrid. An important invention, almost certainly by Bosch. I cannot judge the execution, having seen only small reproductions of these shutters. • Now in the museum at Rotterdam, on loan from the Koenigs collection (96 × 36 each). Originals, imperfectly preserved. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Nos. St. 27, 28; 69 × 35 and 69.5 × 38 cm.

65. (Plate 44) *The Nativity, in Half-Length*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne No. 489 (105 × 84). Reproduced in Lafond, opposite p. 8. Not quite convincing as original. • No. WRM 474.

a. (Plate 44) Museum, Brussels, No. 51 (64 × 60). A crude 16th-century copy.

66. (Plate 45) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (72 × 56). From the Lippmann collection, Berlin, No. 38 at the Berlin auction of 1912. An especially early work by the master. Disfigured in places by restoration. • No. 13.26 (Kennedy Fund, 1912).

67. (Plate 46) *The Adoration of the Magi*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (74 × 54). Not included in Valentiner's catalogue. From the collection of the Earl of Ellenborough, No. 97 in the London auction of 1914. A rather early work. • No. 1321.

82 68. (Plates 47-49) *Altarpiece, The Adoration of the Magi*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2048 (133 × 71 at the centre). From the Escorial. Said to have been acquired by Philip II from Jan Casembroot. Left shutter, *St. Peter*, with the donor; right shutter, *St. Agnes*, with the donatrix. Verso, in grisaille, *The Mass of Pope Gregory*, with two further donor figures and scenes from the Passion in the framework. Impeccably preserved. • 138 × 72—33 cm.

There are many copies of the centrepiece, e.g.:

a. (Plate 50) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 354 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (90 × 69).

b. (Plate 50) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 589 (57 × 45).

c. (Plate 50) Provinzialmuseum, Bonn., No. 18 (112 × 71). From the depository of the Berlin museums. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin [East], No. 1223; 114 × 71 cm.

d. Weber auction, Brussels, 1926, No. 4 (110 × 73).

e. Musée Calvet, Avignon. • No. 486; 103 × 73 cm.

f. Collection of Dr. Poisson, Nantes.

o (Plate 50) A replica of the centrepiece, the shutters bearing completely different compositions and their versos also different, is in the collection of Viscount Bearsted, London. Cf. p. 71, above. • Now in the Viscount Bearsted collection (National Trust), Upton House near Banbury, No. 143; 91.4 × 72.9—32.3 cm.

69. (Plate 52) *Altarpiece, The Adoration of the Magi*, Church of St. Peter, Anderlecht, near Brussels (78 × 62—26.5). Left shutter, *Joseph*; right shutter, the entourage of the Magi. On the verso of the shutters, *St. Peter* kneeling in prayer, *Mary Magdalene*. This is certainly not a copy of a familiar composition. Imperfectly preserved, but the execution is hard to judge in the work's present location in the church. o An original, in a poor state of preservation. • Shutters each 80 × 26.5 cm.

70. (Plate 51) *Two Shutters from an Adoration of the Magi*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, not included in Valentiner's catalogue. Left shutter, two shepherds; right shutter, the mounted entourage of the Magi. A bit crude and hasty in execution, presumably an original. The same compositions are found on the shutters of a triptych in the collection of Marquis Casa Torres at Madrid (Plate 51) 1471. • Nos. 1275, 1276; each 33 × 21.6 cm.

71. (Plate 53) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Art market, Vienna, 1926 (98 × 64, rounded at the top). In part excellent and worthy of the master, in other parts slack and soft in an incompatible way. Possibly a felicitous imitation, but not a copy after a familiar composition. The African Magus similar to the renderings in the Prado and at Anderlecht. • No. 33 in the Archduke Leopold Salvator auction of 1927 at New York.

72. (Plate 53) *The Child Jesus in the Temple*. Louvre, Paris, from the Cluny museum (74 × 58). By a capable imitator 1481. • Inv. No. RF 970, Cat. No. 4005.

73. (Plate 54) *The Marriage at Cana*. Koenigs collection, Haarlem (93 × 72). From private hands in England. A picture on this theme by Bosch is mentioned in the inventory of Rubens's estate. Disfigured by restoration 1491. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. St. 25.

74. *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*.

a. (Plate 55) Art market, Paris (Brunner, 1910; 111 × 172). A rich and important composition of Bosch's, rather late in execution. • 110 × 70 cm.

b. (Plate 55) Formerly in the Claude Phillips collection, London. No. 355 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (76 × 59) 1501. • Now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, No. 1596; 77.7 × 60 cm.

75. (Plate 56) *Christ Before the High Priest*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker). From the Nemes collection, Munich (49 × 37) 1511. • Now in the van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2438; 46.5 × 36.5 cm.

76. (Plate 57) *Christ Before Pilate*. Princeton University, U.S.A. (85 × 105). Acquired on the London art market in 1891. Published by Allen Marquand in the *Princeton University Bulletin*, Vol. 14, No. 2, March 1903 1521. • 84.5 × 108 cm.

77. (Plate 57) *Christ Shown to the People*. Stædelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, from the Kaufmann collection, No. 108 in the Berlin auction of 1917 (75 × 61). No. 137 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902 (L. Maeterlinck collection) 1531. • No. 1577.

a. (Plate 57) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 588a. From the convent of St. Bridget at Couwater (77 × 55.5) 1541. • No. 588A 1.

78. (Plate 58) *Christ Shown to the People*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 352 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (50 × 52). Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, p. 321 1551. • 52 × 53.9 cm.

79. (Plate 59) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Escorial (165 × 195). A tondo on a square panel, the corners showing St. Michael and the Fall of the Angels. As shown by copies, there were presumably shutters at one time.

a. (Plate 60) Museum, Valencia. Altarpiece with *Christ Crowned with Thorns* as the centrepiece. Left shutter, *The Taking of Christ*; right shutter, *The Scourging of Christ*. A crude copy, with signature. From the Chapel of the Epiphany of the Trinitarians 1561. • Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Nos. 265, 266; 137 × 169—151 × 83 cm.

b. Art market, London (Spanish Gallery, 1911). From Spain (139 × 69). A crude copy of the centrepiece, entirely as in a., but without the signature. • 137 × 188 cm.

c. Art market, Paris (Dr. Mersch, 1924; 53 × 74.5). A broadened copy of *The Taking of Christ*, Bosch's original of which is lost.

80. *Christ Crowned with Thorns, in Half-Length.*

a. (Plate 61) Museum, Antwerp, No. 840, from the Kaufmann collection, Berlin, not included in the auction of the collection. Acquired in 1895 (85 × 69). With a donor. The best-known specimen, but unlikely to be the original. • 83 × 68 cm.

b. (Plate 61) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 353 in Valentiner's catalogue, Vol. 2 (65 × 57). Reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, 1903, p. 92. A good copy.

c. Kunstakademie, Berlin. A mediocre copy.

d. Kunstmuseum, Berne. A mediocre copy. • 82 × 60 cm.

e. (Plate 61) Art market, London (Sabin, 1925; 91 × 66). A good copy.

f. J. Kerr Lawson collection, London (65 × 51). A weak copy.

g. Art market, The Hague (Hageraats, 1927; 68 × 53). A good copy.

81. (Plate 62) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Escorial (150 × 94). Already owned by Philip II. • Now in the Palacio Nacional, Madrid.

82. (Plate 63) *Christ Carrying the Cross, in Half-Length*. Museum, Ghent, No. 1902-H (74 × 81). Acquired in 1902. No. 285 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Published in my work on this show (Bruckmann), Pl. 84 1571. • 74 × 82 cm.

83. (Plate 64) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 6512 (57.2 × 32). Acquired in 1923. Verso, within a circle, a child with scooter and whirligig. The left shutter of a triptych 1581. • No. 6429.

a. (Plate 64) Weinberger collection, Vienna. A copy, the same composition in bust-length, all of a piece. • Art market, New York (Schaeffer, before 1956); 56 × 86.5 cm.

Van Vaernewyck reports that a *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the church of St. Pharaïlde at Ghent was destroyed in the assaults of the iconoclasts.

84. (Plate 65) *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John, St. Peter and a Youthful Donor*. P. Franchomme collection, Brussels (70 × 59). From the Fétis collection, Brussels. In the Brussels exhibition of 1926, reproduced in the catalogue. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, No. 6639; 73.5 × 61.3 cm.

85. (Plates 66-68) *Altarpiece, The Last Judgment*. Akademie, Vienna, Nos. 579-581 (163 × 127-60). Left shutter, *The Garden of Eden*; right shutter, *Hell*. Verso, in grisaille, the Apostle St. James the Elder, St. Bavo, blank armorial bearings. Poorly preserved in parts, especially the obverse of the left shutter. The picture has been wrongly called into doubt; and on the basis of a letter M, appearing on a knife blade, it has been ascribed to Jan Mandyn (Glück, *Kunstchronik*, 1896, p. 196) and Jan Mostaert (Dollmayr, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. 19, pp. 284 ff.). Demonstrably in the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Cf. the new catalogue of the museum by Eigenberger, for precise data, including also the state of preservation. An engraving of the centrepiece was published by H. Cock. • Successfully cleaned by Eigenberger not long ago. All doubts seem now to have been silenced 1591. • 164 × 127-163.7 × 60 cm.

a. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 563 (163 × 125—58). A close copy of the whole work, except the versos of the shutters. By the hand of Lucas Cranach the Elder. From old castle property. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin [East].

86. (Plates 69–71) *Altarpiece, The Last Judgment*. Museum, Bruges (99 × 126, centre). The central panel has a round termination at the top. By no means a copy of the triptych in the Vienna Akademie. Remnants of painting in grisaille on the verso of the shutters (601). From the E. Gavet collection, No. 2 in the Paris auction of 1906. o Signed. • No. 208; 99 × 60.3—99.5 × 28.8 cm.

87. (Plate 74) *The Last Judgment*. Pacully collection, Paris (83.5 × 93.5). Signed. No. 288 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. In general design the composition is similar to the engraving by Duhamel, but all the details are different. An excellent old copy or workshop replica. • D. E. Evans collection, London.

88. (Plate 74) *Hell*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (117 × 53). From private hands in Bohemia, acquired in 1926. • No. 26.244 (Dick Fund); 53.3 × 116.8 cm.

89. (Plates 72, 73) *Four Shutters*, two showing the damned, two the ascent of the blessed. Accademia, Venice, Nos. 182, 184 (87 × 39 each). From the Palace of the Doges. Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Italien*, Nos. 8, 9. • Now in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice.

90. (Plates 75–78) *Altarpiece, The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Museum, Lisbon, from Ajuda Palace (129 × 117—51). Signed. On the verso of the shutters, in grisaille, *The Taking of Christ; Christ Carrying the Cross*. • No. 1498; 131.5 × 119—53 cm.

a. (Plate 80) Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker). An excellent replica of the centrepiece. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2441; 50 × 39.5 cm.

b. (Plate 80) Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz (53 × 27—14). A mediocre copy of the entire work. No. 368 at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen und Museen, Dessau, No. 1611.

c. (Plate 79) Museum, Brussels, No. 50 (133 × 119—53). A copy of the whole work. Signed. • No. 3032; 133.5 × 119.5—131.5 × 53 cm.

d. (Plate 81) Ch. L. Cardon collection, Brussels, No. 1 in the auction of 1921 (73 × 71). A good copy of the centrepiece. • Auction 12–3–1941, Berlin (Lange), No. 19.

e. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 588 (69 × 87). A copy of the centrepiece.

f. Museum, Antwerp (Ertborn Collection), No. 25 (88 × 70). A copy of the centrepiece. Signed.

g. (Plate 80) Prado, Madrid, Nos. 2050, 2051 (90 × 37 each). Good replicas of the shutters. Signed.

h. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn, No. 19 (79.5 × 74—89 × 40). From the depository of the Berlin Museums. A copy of the whole. Signed. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode Museum), Berlin [East], No. 1198; 79 × 73—90 × 43 cm.

i. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1910; 83 × 72—91 × 37). No. 87 in the Gimball

auktion of 1905 at Amsterdam. A good copy of the whole. • Auction 24-6-1964, London (Sotheby's), No. 12.

j. • Missing in the original edition.

k. No. 4 in the Amsterdam auktion of 13th April 1920. A mediocre copy of the whole on a single panel. • 53 × 66 cm.

86 l. Gerhardt collection, Budapest, No. 61 in the Berlin auktion of 1911 (71 × 58). A copy of the middle pictures.

m. (Plate 81) Escorial. A good copy of the whole.

o On the subject of replicas by the master's own hand, cf. p. 71, above.

91. (Plate 82) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1926; 58 × 50). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Lugano. • Now in the F. van Lanschot collection, Bois le Duc (1611).

92. (Plate 82) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Gutmann collection, Haarlem, from Spain (27 × 21). • Now in a private collection, Nashville (Canada).

93. (Plate 83) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2049 (70 × 51). From the Escorial (1621).

94. (Plate 82) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1647 (40 × 26.5, rounded at the top). Acquired from private hands in England in 1904. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

95. (Plate 84) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Schmidt-Degener collection, Amsterdam (59 × 80). Signed. The saint is shown in half-length. Rather crude in execution. Probably an old copy. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 588A 3; 63 × 82 cm.

96. (Plate 84) *St. Christopher*. O. Reinhart collection, Winterthur (23 × 36). • Now in the Oskar Reinhart Sammlung am Römerholz, Winterthur.

97. (Plate 85) *St. Jerome at Prayer*. Museum, Ghent, No. 1908-H (81 × 61). Acquired in 1908.

98. (Plate 86) *Altarpiece, Sts. Jerome, Anthony and Giles*. Palazzo Ducale, Venice, from the imperial museum at Vienna (84 × 61, at the centre). Signed. Damaged, apparently by fire. • 86.5 × 60—29 cm.

99. (Plates 87-89) *Altarpiece, The Martyrdom of St. Julia*. Palazzo Ducale, Venice, from the imperial museum, Vienna (100 × 60—25). Left shutter, St. Anthony; right shutter, a soldier, led by a monk. Signed. Damaged 1631. • 104 × 63—28 cm.

100. (Plate 92) *St. James of Compostella and Hermogenes the Sage*. Museum, Valenciennes, No. 176 (60 × 40). Verso, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Cf. *Geborgene Kunstwerke*, 1918, No. 44. • 62 × 41 cm.

101. (Plates 90, 91) *St. John on Patmos*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 1647A (40 × 26.5). Verso, in grisaille, scenes from the Passion, arranged in a ring. From the W. Fuller Maitland collection. Signed, but the signature is partly worn away. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 63 × 43 cm.

102. (Plate 93) *St. John the Baptist Outdoors*. D. José Lázaro collection, Madrid. A remarkable composition, certainly by Bosch. I cannot judge the execution, since I have seen only a reproduction. ○ An original (48.5 × 40). ● Now in the Museo de la Fundación Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid.

103. (Plate 94) *The Prodigal Son*. Collection of Dr. A. Figdor, Vienna (tondo, diameter 63). ○ Now in the museum at Rotterdam. ● Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. 1079; diameter 64.6 cm (the panel 71 × 70.6 cm).

104. (Plate 95) *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Escorial (120 × 150). On a circle inscribed in an oblong. ● Now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, No. 2822.

105. (Plate 96) *The Prestidigitator*. St. Germain-en-Laye (60 × 72). Reproduced in Dülberg, *Frühholänder in Frankreich*, Pl. 7. Perhaps only an old copy. ● 53 × 65 cm.

a. (Plate 96) Crespi collection, Milan, Photo Anderson No. 3454. With additions on the right and in the background. ● Now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, W.P. Wiltach collection, No. w'14-1-2; 106 × 138 cm.

b. Art market, Munich, from private hands in Paris (75 × 117). With the same additions as in a. A crude copy. ● Now in the Ostier collection, New York; 84 × 114 cm.

106. (Plate 97) *The Ship of Fools*. Louvre, Paris (56 × 32). Gift of C. Benoit in 1918 (1641). The Louvre owns a drawing of this composition, carefully highlighted in white (Plate 97). Cf. p. 66, above. Presently on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. ● Louvre, Inv. No. RF 2218, Cat. No. 4004; 57.9 × 32.6 cm.

107. (Plate 98) *The Dance of the Fools, Carnival*. Art market, Milan, 1925 (50 × 50 each). Two panels in grisaille. The invention is certainly by Bosch, but the execution is on the crude side, although severely archaic. Probably an original. ○ Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Lugano. ● Now on the art market, The Hague (Cramer Gallery); 59 × 118.5 cm, the panels being joined again.

108. *The Concert in the Egg*.

a. (Plate 98) Museum, Lille, No. 1020 (108 × 126). Acquired in 1890. An old copy. ● No. 816; canvas, 108.5 × 126.5 cm.

b. Collection of Baron de Montalba, Senlis. Reproduced in S. Reinach, *Tableaux Peu Connus*, Pl. XIV. ● Now in the Comte Roland Balny d'Avricourt collection, Paris; 73 × 107 cm.

109. (Plate 99) *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2056

(49 × 35). With an inscription in florid Gothic letters: *Meester snijt die keye ras / Mijne name is lubbert das.*

a. (Plate 99) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 587 (41.5 × 32). The same scene in a similar composition, but not a copy. Judging from the execution, done about 1550 (M.Koffermans).

b. Museum, St. Omer.

110. (Plates 100-102) *Altarpiece, The Garden of Delights*. Escorial (220 × 195, at the centre). Left shutter, *The Garden of Eden*; right shutter, *Hell*. • Now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, No. 2823; 220 × 195—97 cm.

a. (Plate 102) Prado, Madrid, No. 2053 (188 × 77). A close replica of the left shutter, of approximately equal merit. From the Escorial 1651. • 186 × 77 cm.

b. Art market, Berlin, 1927, from the C.L. Cardon collection, Brussels, transferred from wood to canvas (182 × 168). No. 289 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. A good copy of the centrepiece.

c. Orloff auction, Paris, 1920, No. 8 (66 × 51). A free and feeble copy of the left shutter. • Art market, Lucerne (Fischer, 1955) 1661.

d. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1911). A weak copy of the lower half of the right shutter.

e. Kippenberg collection, Leipzig. A free and feeble copy of the lower half of the right shutter.

111. (Plates 103-105) *Altarpiece, The Hay Waggon*. Escorial (162 × 105 at the centre). Left shutter, *The Fall of the Angels, The Garden of Eden*; right shutter, *Hell*; verso of both shutters, *The Vagabond*. This large figure, similar to the Prodigal Son, is more crudely done and probably a workshop product. • 140 × 100—147 × 66 cm.

a. (Plate 106) Palace. Aranjuez. The centrepiece (134 × 98). Signed. No. 217 in the Bruges exhibition of 1907.

b. (Plate 106) Prado, Madrid, No. 2052 (134 × 45). The left shutter.

c. (Plate 106) Escorial (134 × 45). The right shutter.

These three pieces, assembled at the 1907 Bruges exhibition, constitute a close and excellent replica. • A replica of equal merit, now in the Prado, Madrid, cf. p. 71, above. • No. 2052; 135 × 100—45 cm.

112. (Plate 107) *Christ on the Cross, with Horsemen*. Capilla Real, Granada. By a follower of Bosch, to whom the next entry is probably also correctly ascribed. • No. 9; 54 × 39 cm.

113. (Plate 107) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Museum, Brussels, No. 853 (49 × 42). From the Ch.L. Cardon collection, acquired in 1921. Cf. Winkler, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 42, 1923.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS

I can add but one item to the catalogue of Geertgen's works:

(Plate 13) *St. Bavo in Half-Length*. The Hermitage, Leningrad, fragment from an altarpiece shutter. • Cf. No. 11, above.

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PAINTINGS BY FOLLOWERS OF GEERTGEN AND OTHER DUTCH WORKS FROM THE LAST DECADES OF THE 15TH CENTURY

This list is almost certainly incomplete. Since the store of works on Dutch soil was almost totally destroyed, paintings that for one reason or another are regarded as Dutch turn up but rarely and do not coalesce into groups. By way of supplementing the Catalogue, I have assembled a number of works of superior value.

Supp. 114 (Vol. III, Plate 55) *Jesus Healing the Sick*. Kleiweg de Zwaan collection, Amsterdam, previously in the Cels auction, Brussels, 1922 (89 × 75) 1671. • Now in the Mr. and Mrs. Kleiweg de Zwaan-Vellema collection, Blaricum (Netherlands); 90 × 75 cm.

Supp. 115 (Vol. III, Plate 55) *The Gathering of the Manna*. Museum, Douai (66 × 31) 1681. • 66.5 × 51 cm.

Supp. 116 *The Adoration of the Magi*. Art market, New York (Kleinberger, 1922).

Supp. 117 (Plate 108) *The Entombment*. Museum, Budapest (29 × 24). • No. 5164 (684d); 28.5 × 24 cm.

Supp. 118 (Plate 108) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Art market, Rotterdam (Klaasen, 1936; 65 × 49.5). • Now on loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, from the Mr. J. W. Frederiks collection, No. Br. F. 1; 67.3 × 51 cm.

Supp. 119 (Plate 109) *Altarpiece Shutter Painted on Both Sides: The Adoration of the Magi, Ecce Homo*. Art market, Amsterdam (Internationale Antiquiteitenhandel, 1936; 82.5 × 70) 1691. • Now on loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, from the Mr. J. W. Frederiks collection, Nos. Br. F. 2, 3; 83.8 × 71 and 84.1 × 70.5 cm.

Supp. 120 (Plate 109) *Christ before Pilate*, with a view of the Haarlem Town Hall. No. 179 at the Muller auction of 8th April 1930, Amsterdam (39 × 27). • Now on loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, from the Mr. J. W. Frederiks collection; 38.8 × 26.5 cm.

Supp. 121 (Plate 109) *The Crucifixion*. Baron Descamps collection, Brussels (93 ×

75). Lavalleye, in his book *Juste de Gand*, ascribes the work to this master, mistakenly, in my view. • Now in a private collection, Belgium.

Supp. 122 *Three Altarpiece Panels with Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist.*

90 (Plate 25) *The Birth of St. John the Baptist.* Art market, London (Nicholson, 1925; 132 × 96). • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. 2118; 133 × 97 cm.

(Plate 25) *The Slaughter of the Innocents, The Rescue of the Boy St. John, The Slaying of Zachariah.* Museum, Rotterdam, from the collection of Mrs. M. Post, London (132 × 98) • No. 2117; 132 × 95 cm.

(Plate 25) The third panel from the same altarpiece is the one listed as No. 37, in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, *Christ Meeting St. John the Baptist* (117 × 97) • 123.5 × 94 cm.

The association of these three panels is beyond doubt, particularly since they share an unusual form of halo. The panel in the Johnson Collection has been slightly cropped.

THE MASTER OF THE VIRGIN AMONG VIRGINS

Supp. 123 (Plate 110) *The Lamentation.* Prado, Madrid, acquired in 1928. • No. 2539; 84 × 78 cm.

Supp. 124 (Plate 111) *The Resurrection.* Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1930; 87 × 51). Part of the same altarpiece as No. 59. The verso, on which a saint was shown in grisaille, was planed down 1701. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1538 v 2; 88 × 51 cm.

Supp. 125 (Plate 111) *The Virgin in Half-Length.* G. Tillmann collection, Amsterdam (40.5 × 26). • Now in the Art Museum of the Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., No. 49-135; 41.5 × 27.5 cm.

Supp. 126 (Plate 110) *The Entombment.* Museum, St. Louis. • 58.5 × 46.5 cm.

JEROME BOSCH

Supp. 127 (Plate 112) *Christ Carrying the Cross.* Art market, London (Arnot, 1935; canvas, 78 × 90). • Auction 10-12-1954, London (Christie's), No. 90; 77.5 × 87.5 cm.

Supp. 128 (Plate 112) *The Garden of Eden.* Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1936; 40.5 × 27.5). • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago, Robert A. Waller Fund, No. 36.239; 27 × 40.6 cm.

Supp. 129 (Plate 112) *Two Small Altarpiece Shutters, from an Adoration of the Magi: Joseph, the Shepherds.* Art market, London (Dr. Bloch, 1936). • Each 30 × 12 cm.

Supp. 130 (Plate 113) *An Allegorical Scene*, fragment 1711. Art market, Cologne (Malmedé, 1935; 36 × 31). • Now in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., Acc. No. 1959, 15.22; 35.9 × 31.4 cm.

Supp. 131 (Plate 114) *St. Christopher*. Museum, Rotterdam, on loan from the Koenigs collection. Signed (113 × 71.5). • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, No. St. 26.

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Supp. 132 (Plate 113) *The Taking of Christ*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 589a (51 × 81.5). A replica of at least equal merit, in some respects superior, is in private hands in Amsterdam. A crude copy is on the Paris art market. A version of the same composition, crude in execution, is in Valencia (No. 79a). • No. 588A 2.

Supp. 133 (Plate 115) *Christ Mocked*. National Gallery, London, a new acquisition, formerly in the Magniac collection, subsequently in private hands in Rome (63.5 × 59) 1721. • No. 4744; 73.5 × 59 cm.

Supp. 134 (Plate 116) *The Last Judgment*, fragment, the sinners in hell. Alte Pinakothek, Munich 1731. • No. 5752; 60 × 114 cm.

Supp. 135 (Plate 117) *Death of the Miser*. Collection of Baron van der Elts, Vienna. In grisaille (93 × 31) 1741. A similar drawing is in the Louvre (Plate 117; cf. p. 68, above). • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, No. 1112; 92.6 × 30.8 cm.

Supp. 136 (Plates 118, 119) *Altarpiece, Job*, on the shutters, *Sts. Anthony and Jerome*. Museum, Bruges, on loan from the church at Houcke (100 × 75—32). In a very poor state of preservation, almost entirely overpainted 1751. • No. 209; 98.3 × 72.1—98.1/97.8 × 30.5/30.2 cm.

Supp. 137 (Plate 116) *The Deadly Sins*. Art market, London (Harris, 1935). Signed. • Now on the art market, New York (Spencer & Samuels Comp.); 34 × 22 cm.

(from Volume XIV)

ADDENDA

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS

o Add. 138. (Plate 121) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Hanna Fund, No. 51.353; 29 × 18.5 cm. Published as a late work by M.J. Friedländer, 'Eine bisher unbekannte Epiphanie von Geertgen', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xxvi, 1950, pp. 10-12.

o Add. 139. (Plates 120, 121) *Virgin and Child with Angels*. Rotterdam, Museum

Boymans-van Beuningen, No. 2450; 26.8 × 20.5 cm. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Zu Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xxv, 1949, pp. 186-188. See also the following entry.

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● Add. 140. (Plate 121) *Christ on the Cross and Scenes from the Passion*. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, No. 1253; 26.8 × 20.5 cm. Not by Geertgen himself. Left wing of a diptych of which the *Virgin and Child with Angels* (Add. 139) was the right shutter. The entry for this diptych in the sale catalogue of the collection of Cardinal Fesch in 1845 was published by Suzanne Sulzberger, 'La Glorification de la Vierge de Gérard de Saint Jean', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, p. 169. In a postscript to this article J. Q. van Regteren Altena identified the Edinburgh panel as the missing left wing.

● Add. 141. (Plate 13) *The Legend of the Rosary*. Private collection, England; 69.8 × 54.4 cm. Sixteenth-century copy of the right half of No. 13 (p. 75, above), with a view of a landscape, which is missing on the Leipzig panel. Cf. Grete Ring, 'Attempt to Reconstruct a Lost Geertgen Composition', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, p. 147.

● Add. 142. (Plate 121) *St. Jerome*. Amsterdam, Stichting Collectie P. en N. de Boer; 42 × 28.5 cm. Early sixteenth-century Italian frame. Cf. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Wanneer verbleef Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Vlaanderen', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 78.

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● Add. 143. (Plate 31) *The Annunciation*, on the reverse *The Adoration of the Magi* (badly damaged). Madrid, collection of the Duque de Alba; 94 × 71 cm. May have belonged to the same altarpiece as No. 47. Cf. A. Iñigues, 'El "Maestro de la Virgo inter Virgines"'. La tabla del primer Conde de Alba', in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, I, 1925, pp. 193-196.

● Add. 144. (Plate 29) *The Last Supper*. Art market, London (1959). Published by K. G. Boon, *De Meester van de Virgo inter Virgines* (*Oud-Delft*, 2), Rotterdam/The Hague, 1963, p. 28, as a work by an imitator of the Master of the Virgin among Virgins, possibly the same who painted *The Betrothal of the Virgin* (No. 44).

● Add. 145. (Plate 122) *The Crucifixion*. Art market, Paris (Robert Lebel, 1958); 85 × 52 cm. By an imitator of the Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Possibly *The Lamentation* (No. 59) and *The Resurrection* (Supp. 124) are parts of the same ensemble. Cf. the catalogue of the exhibition *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 59. It is doubted there that the three panels belong together.

● Add. 146. (Plate 40) *The Lamentation*. Enghien (Belgium), Hôpital Saint-Nicolas; 77 × 63.5 cm. A better version—and no doubt the original—of No. 60. Published

by L. Hoffmans, *Un Rogier van der Weyden inconnu?*, Enghien, 1948, as coming from the Carthusian monastery at Hérinnes-lez-Enghien (suppressed in 1783). Restored at the *Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique*, Brussels in 1968. Copies of this painting are in the collection of the Duquesa de Parcent, Madrid, and in the De Hemptinne collection, Ghent.

● Add. 147. *The Resurrection*. Art market, Paris (Lucas Moreno, 1935). Cf. K. G. Boon, *De Meester van de Virgo inter Virgines* (*Oud-Delft*, 2), Rotterdam/The Hague 1963, p. 32.

● Add. 148. (Plate 122) *Portrait of Hugo de Groot, Canon of The Hague*. New York, Georges Wildenstein; 37.5 × 26 cm. Before the discovery of the text of an epitaph to this Delft priest on the back of the panel Friedländer had ascribed the painting to Simon Marmion. The new attribution, by K. G. Boon, was accepted in the catalogue of the exhibition *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 55.

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● Add. 149. (Plate 123) *Christ Shown to the People*. Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, gift of Arthur Kauffmann, Acc. No. 52.2027; 73.2 × 57.1 cm. Wings with Donors, 68.6 × 26/25.8 cm., and a predella panel with *The Instruments of the Passion*, 14 × 66.2 cm., by other hands. Friedländer considered the central panel an original by Bosch. Cf. C. T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, 1. *Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, 4), Brussels, 1961, pp. 33-43.

● Add. 150. *The Garden of Delights*, central panel. Paris, collection of the Comte de Pomereu; 184 × 178 cm (inside frame). Isabel Mateo Gómez, *El Bosco en España*, Madrid, 1965, pp. 37-38, published this painting as the central panel of a triptych of which Friedländer mentions the left wing (No. 1102).

Editor's Note

The same year, 1937, in which the final volume of Friedländer's *Die Altniederländische Malerei* was published, also saw publication of the second volume of Hoogewerff's *Geschiedenis der Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* (176), in which Geertgen tot Sint Jans and his circle are discussed. Hoogewerff shares Friedländer's views of this painter, as Vogelsang (177) was to do some years later. He rejects the theory formulated in 1930 by Kessler (178) who identifies young Geertgen with the so-called Master of the Brunswick Diptych, a theory that goes back to older publications by Friedländer (179) and was subsequently espoused by Beets (180). Hoogewerff disputes Friedländer, who held that *The Holy Kindred in a Church* (No. 10) is an early work, preferring to regard the *Virgin and Child in Half-Length* in Milan (No. 9) as from that period. He also challenges Geertgen's authorship of the *Portrait of Anne, Duchess of Cleves* (No. 14) (181).

A completely different view of the scope of Geertgen's work is taken by Davies (182) who, in consequence of his doubts about *The Nativity* in the National Gallery, London (No. 1), arrives at only a very small group of original works: the altarpiece shutter in Vienna (No. 6), *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Louvre (No. 5), the *Virgin and Child in Half-Length* (No. 8) and the *St. John the Baptist* (No. 12), in Berlin — and possibly the Milan *Virgin and Child in Half-Length* (No. 9). As for the Prague triptych (No. 4), Davies recognizes Geertgen's style only in the principal figures.

Oettinger (183) on the other hand, drawing a parallel between Geertgen and Hugo van der Goes, arrives at rather different conclusions. He feels that Geertgen's process of growth from the Prague triptych (No. 4) to the Utrecht *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* (No. 7) follows the same lines as Hugo van der Goes's work from the *Monforte altarpiece* to the *Death of the Virgin*. In both painters he sees an intensification in the direct experience of the theme rather than a supposed stylistic development away from the Gothic manner and in the direction of the Renaissance. Boon (184) takes a contrary view, since he puts *The Holy Kindred in a Church* (No. 10) and *The Nativity* (No. 1) into Geertgen's early period and would even date the Prague triptych (No. 4) after 1500. He fixes Geertgen's active period at between about 1485 and 1500, declaring the idea that Geertgen studied with van Ouwater to be unacceptable (185). After the Second World War, Friedländer himself added two important pictures to Geertgen's oeuvre: the Rotterdam *Madonna with Angels* (Add. 139) (186) and the Cleveland *Adoration of the Magi* (Add. 138) (187), the latter as a late painting.

Most authors since then have stuck to a series of about 15 pictures (188). Indeed, since 1950 the study of Geertgen's work has been directed more towards the chronology of the paintings and the light it throws on the development of his style than towards enlarging or diminishing the number of paintings to be attributed to him.

Koch 1891 has drawn attention to the mention of a *Gheerkin de Hollandere* as an apprentice of a Bruges bookbinder in 1475/6.

His suggestion that this *Gheerkin* may have been the 15 year old Geertgen of Leyden, who would have settled in Haarlem after an apprenticeship as a miniaturist, was taken over by Panofsky 1901, who thinks the small *Virgin and Child in Half-Length* in Milan (No. 9) indicates training in miniature painting and holds *The Holy Kindred in a Church* (No. 10) to be Geertgen's earliest work after his period of study in panel-painting under Albert van Ouwater. He considers Geertgen a representative of the essentially Flemish style that spread with Albert van Ouwater into the North. According to Panofsky, Geertgen's true significance lies in his highly individual interpretation of traditional religious themes.

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For Panofsky as for Oettinger, the *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* (No. 7) marks the final point in Geertgen's development. Panofsky also gives a number of additional cases of Geertgen's oft-cited propensity for borrowing from South Netherlandish painting. In the case of the verso of the Vienna altarpiece shutter (No. 6B), *The Burning of the Bones of St. John the Baptist*, he thinks Geertgen may have made use of miniatures by the van Limburg brothers, rejecting Châtelet's 1911 early dating of this picture, between 1460 and 1472. Van de Waal, in a lecture 1921, puts forward an important argument in favour of the traditional late dating of this Haarlem altarpiece. It so happens that in 1485 the grand master of the Order of the Knights of St. John acquired some important relics of St. John the Baptist. Thus the choice of this subject may have been highly appropriate for the panel of an altarpiece intended for the Chapel of St. John in Haarlem.

The matter of Geertgen's supposed schooling as a miniaturist was again raised by Sulzberger 1931, who regards a Flemish miniature in a manuscript in Vienna as Geertgen's work, which she compares with the Madonnas in Milan (No. 9) and Rotterdam (Add. 139). She mentions 1941 a note in the auction catalogue of the Fesch collection, 1845, which enabled van Regteren Altena 1951 to identify a small *Crucifixion* in Edinburgh (Add. 140) as the left shutter of a diptych, of which the Rotterdam *Madonna* (Add. 139) also forms a part. Lemmens 1961 described another version of this *Crucifixion*, in the Episcopal Museum at Vich, which he regards as closer to the known works of Geertgen. The clear difference between the Edinburgh *Crucifixion* and the rest of Geertgen's œuvre led van Regteren Altena 1971 to suggest that we should have to adopt a completely different view of his development, unless we assume that both the Edinburgh and the Rotterdam panels originated from Geertgen's circle.

In 1966 the same author 1981 reverted to this subject and also described a hitherto unknown *St. Jerome* (Add. 142). In his article van Regteren Altena also accepts the theory that Geertgen may have trained in Flanders as a miniaturist, which would account for the many resemblances with South Netherlandish work seen in Geertgen's paintings. Another period of training, in Haarlem would have given rise to a more monumental approach to composition, as a second phase. As an example, van Regteren Altena suggest that *The Raising of Lazarus* (No. 5) may have been started by Albert van Ouwater and completed by Geertgen.

He sees a point of contact between Geertgen's early work and the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, again putting forward Kessler's theory 1991 that this master

was identical with Geertgen. Geertgen's later work, which is more closely connected with van Ouwater, he sees as being represented by *The Holy Kindred in a Church*, which may well have formed the starting-point for the art of the young Mostaert. Boon (100), in a discussion of the Amsterdam *Tree of Jesse*, labelled by Friedländer (101) as Mostaert's work while van Schendel (102) and Snyder (103) give it to Geertgen, argues that even Geertgen's small panels do not display the approach of a miniaturist.

An article by Snyder (104) gives a recapitulation of Geertgen's work and milieu, together with an important essay on the background of his iconography. The same author (105) has also studied the iconography of Geertgen's *The Holy Kindred in a Church* (No. 10). Krönig (106) and Fritz (107) have written about the iconography of *St. John the Baptist*, while Engelbregt (108) and van Os (109) have devoted lengthy articles to the connection between the Rotterdam *Madonna* (Add. 139) and the cult of the rosary. The Prague triptych is the subject of a monograph by Šíp (110).

FOLLOWERS OF GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS AND WORKS OF HIS PERIOD

As Friedländer suggested in his supplement (111), it is hard to divide the body of paintings labelled Dutch into groups. In the present volume, Friedländer deliberately limited himself to works from Geertgen's immediate circle and those he regarded as showing the influence of Geertgen's art.

Hoogewerff (112) in his chapter on Geertgen's contemporaries, follows the same line as Friedländer, on whom he clearly depends in his discussion of certain of Geertgen's disciples known only by makeshift names, such as the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, the Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin and the Master of the Figdor Deposition (113). He thinks that three works Friedländer does not associate together (Nos. 29, 30 and 32) are by still another anonymous artist.

He further believes that the Portrait of *Anne, Duchess of Cleves* (No. 14), which Friedländer holds may have been done by Geertgen, should be attributed to the Master of the Figdor Deposition, and in this Oettinger (114) follows him. He sees the painter as an artist from the East of the Netherlands who may have come to Haarlem via Utrecht, as is evident from certain Westphalian traits in his work (115). As to the four panels with female saints (No. 34), Hoogewerff (116) follows Van Gelder-Schrijver (117) and Fröhlich-Bum (118), attributing them to the Master of Alkmaar. As the painter of the *Christ before Pilate* (Supp. 120) he names, like Schretlen before him (119), the Master of Bellaert, so called after an unidentified designer who worked for the Haarlem editor Jacob Bellaert van Zierikzee (active 1483-1498) (120).

Hoogewerff, at the end of his discussion, gives an excellent summary of the known documentary facts about the painters of Haarlem in Geertgen's time. It has not proved possible so far, however, to link any of these names with actual paintings.

Both Baldass (121) and Schretlen (122) surmise that the Master of the Figdor Deposition, whom Friedländer considers a link between Haarlem and Amsterdam, may have been young Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen. Kunze (123) disputes this and no subsequent author has accepted the hypothesis.

From iconographical and historical data van Luttervelt (1124) has built up a theory on the origin of the works of the Master of the Brunswick Diptych. The diptych from which this master derives his name (No. 16) may have been painted for Hendrik van Haarlem, who was prior of the Carthusian monastery in Amsterdam until 1490 and thereafter of the convent of St. Anne in Geertruidenberg. As a date van Luttervelt suggests 1490. He also associates the two altarpiece shutters showing Sts. Valerian and Cecilia (Nos. 20, 21) with Amsterdam, because there was a convent of St. Cecilia in that town. He posits a link between the Master of the Brunswick Diptych and Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen. Another altarpiece shutter, *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, showing a Carthusian monk (No. 38), would have been painted for the Carthusian monastery in Geertruidenberg, according to van Luttervelt.

At the Amsterdam exhibition of 1958 *The Holy Family at Supper* (No. 33) (1125) was shown as a work by the Master of the Brunswick Diptych (1126). This is as unsatisfactory as the attribution to that painter of a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne under an Apple Tree*, in the Bührle collection, Zürich (1127).

Another work shown at Amsterdam as a work by the Master of the Brunswick Diptych was a Madonna from the town hall, Pretoria (1128). It is certainly by a painter from Geertgen's immediate circle, sometimes designated as the Master of the Marianums.

The most important addition to the painters of Geertgen's period concerns the author of *Christ Meeting St. John the Baptist* (No. 37), whom Friedländer associates with the woodcuts in *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, a book published in Gouda, the possible place of origin of the painting.

In his supplement he was able to add two further panels to this work (Supp. 112). Hoogewerff (1129), however, detaches this painter from the Haarlem group and reckons him among the anonymous Dutch masters. Hannema (1130) gives him the name Master of the St. John Altarpiece and prefers to associate him with the Master of the Virgin among Virgins rather than with Geertgen.

The suggestion by Baldass (1131) that he should be identified as the engraver I.A. M. Zwoll has not been accepted by anyone else.

Van Regteren Altena (1132) accepts the Gouda location and the authorship of the woodcuts and points out certain resemblances between the paintings of this master and the early work of Lucas van Leyden, especially in the landscape portions. He identifies the Master of the St. John Altarpiece as Hugo Jacobsz., father of Lucas van Leyden, to whom he also attributes a *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Supp. 118), a *Nativity* in the Royal Museum, Brussels (No. 865), and a triptych in the Schafel collection, Zürich. Boon (1133) does not ascribe the latter two works to this master. Instead, he mentions an *Entombment* (Supp. 117) and a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and the Donor's Family*, acquired by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 1966.

The Master of the Gathering of the Manna, two of whose works (Supp. 114 and 115) are mentioned in the supplement without comment, was already discussed in Volume III (1134).

There are no important new discoveries to be added to Friedländer's chapter on the Master of the Virgin among Virgins. It is generally accepted that he worked in Delft, not only on the basis of book illustrations he designed and published there, but also by deductions from his painted work. Van Luttervelt (135) has identified one of the armorial bearings in *The Annunciation* (No. 45) as the crest of the van den Bergh family, whose ancestors lived in Delft towards the end of the 15th century—although this crest is known only at a later period. This same author also assumes that the panel from which this master takes his name (No. 63) was meant for the Premonstratensian convent of Koningsveld near Delft, because it shows the figure of St. Ursula, venerated especially in Delft.

Oosterbaan (136) was able to show that the inscription on the verso of a male portrait (Add. 148) hitherto attributed to Simon Marmion is actually an epitaph for Canon Hugo de Groot, a priest from Delft. Boon (137) then attributed the painting to the Master of the Virgin among Virgins.

In a short monograph on this master, Boon (138) draws a sharper distinction between his autograph work and that of his studio (139). He divides the work into two different periods, before and after a presumably brief stay in the South Netherlands.

The Lamentation (No. 60) proves to have been one of the most popular works of this master. Three additional copies of this composition have become known through publications by Leeuwenberg (140) and Bermejo (141). The specimen at Enghien (Add. 146) is generally considered to be the original (142).

Heinz (143) has devoted a study to the triptych at Salzburg.

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The literature on Bosch between 1937 and 1965 is discussed by de Tolnay (144). An extensive bibliography down to 1967 is found in the catalogue of the exhibition that was held in the painter's native town (145). For references to Bosch in Spanish literature, the publications by de Salas (146) are of fundamental importance.

No important new historical data on Bosch have come to light, but certain documents (147) have brought the Van Aken family into clearer focus. The reputed discovery that Bosch was born in 1453, however, rests on a misinterpretation.

The origins of Bosch's style remain uncertain. Most authors stress the resemblance in composition of some of his works with those of certain Flemish painters, especially Hugo van der Goes (148).

Friedländer, in 1937, revised his views on Bosch, suggesting that the painter himself might have made replicas of his own works (149); but while Friedländer was then inclined to extend the number of Bosch's works, de Tolnay (150) that same year reduced them to a nuclear group of 27 paintings. These he arranged into three chronological groups: early works (151); paintings from the middle period; and panels that came into being shortly before the painter's death (152). Of 30 paintings which Friedländer discusses as authentic in his text, de Tolnay accepts only 22 as originals (153). *The Adoration of the Magi* (No. 66), which Friedländer still puts in

the forefront among Bosch's works in a later publication (1541), is characterized by de Tolnay as the work of an imitator, as are three of the versions of *The Temptation of St. Anthony* discussed by Friedländer (Nos. 91, 92, 94), the *Christ before Pilate* in Rotterdam (No. 75) and the *St. Christopher* in Winterthur (No. 96). De Tolnay also questions the authenticity of the two versions of *The Last Judgment* in Bruges (No. 86) and Vienna (No. 85). These views and also, for the most part, de Tolnay's chronology have been adopted by Baldass (1551), who has given much attention to Bosch's drawings, to which he has devoted a special publication (1561). Combe's views on Bosch's autograph works (1571) are also based on de Tolnay.

In a revised edition of his monograph (1581), de Tolnay attributes a somewhat greater number of works to Bosch, retracting his rejection of the Bruges *Last Judgment* (No. 86), on the basis of the quality of the grisaille on the verso of the shutters, which have meanwhile been cleaned.

De Tolnay's catalogue and chronology have been followed in virtually all subsequent publications. Michel (1591), however, arrives at a later dating for *The Ship of Fools* (No. 106), while Boon (1601) rejects the early dating and the authenticity of *The Seven Deadly Sins* (No. 104)—he also expresses some doubts on the authenticity of *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness* (No. 109) and *The Marriage at Cana* (No. 73). Arndt (1611) disputes the authenticity not only of the latter painting but also of the *Christ Shown to the People* (No. 78), *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (No. 93), *The Last Judgment* (Supp. 134) and other works.

The best résumé of the drawings attributed to Bosch is found in the new edition of de Tolnay's monograph; but the list provided by Friedländer does comprise nearly all the important sheets (1621). Boon (1631) and Arndt dispute the authenticity of a number of drawings. The latter discusses especially the drawings at the 1967 exhibition (1641).

Iconological interpretation of Bosch's works has received more attention than stylistic criticism. While Friedländer, de Tolnay and Baldass sought explanations of Bosch's unique treatment of his themes in his personal character, many authors have looked for links between Bosch's work and events and opinions of his time. Apart from the bibliographies already mentioned (1651), Delevoy (1661) has given a survey of studies in this field.

Combe (1671), Cuttler (1681) and Van Lennep (1691) point out the relation with alchemy and superstition. Important in connection with borrowings from popular speech and folklore are the publications by Enklaar (1701), Grauls *et al.* (1711) and Bax (1721). Escherich (1731) considers the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (No. 79) to be a political satire. Pigler (1741) and Brand Philip (1751) see the influence of astrological images and writings in some of Bosch's works. Spsychalska-Boczkowska (1761) also looks in this direction for an explanation to *The Garden of Delights*. Brand Philip (1771) points out the influence of apocryphal Jewish legends about the Messiah in the *Adoration of the Magi* triptych (No. 68).

These iconological studies have on occasion given rise to new titles for certain works. *The Prodigal Son* (No. 103) for example, is now often called *The Vagabond* (1781). Bax (1791) thinks the saint in *The Martyrdom of St. Julia* (No. 99) may be Wilgefortis rather than Julia. Enklaar (1801) believes there may be a connection be-

tween *The Ship of Fools* (No. 106) and the carnival societies known as 'The Blue Boat'.

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Brand Philip's study (1811) of *The Prodigal Son*, already mentioned, attacks the traditional chronology of Bosch's work. She regards this painting, generally accepted as a late work, as possibly depicting one of the four temperaments, one of four medallions on the exterior of a lost triptych. Two other works that have been given early dating, *The Prestidigitator* (No. 105) and *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness* (No. 109), are in her view copies of two of the lost medallions. She attaches much value to the composition of a number of modified versions of these themes from the 16th century (among them Nos. 105 a/b and 109 a). Bax (1821) questions this interpretation of the painting and declines to accept Brand Philip's reconstruction of *The Four Temperaments*.

None of the publications cited have yet led to a conclusive explanation of the significance and background of Bosch's work. It has become more and more clear, however, that Bosch's ideas were less singular than has often been said. Of great importance in this connection is the fact that his admirers and patrons were among the prominent persons of his day, as has been pointed out recently by Steppe (1831) and Gombrich (1841).

An article by Van Schoute (1851) forms a good starting-point for studying Bosch's painting technique. Other material on this aspect is found in the volumes of the *Corpus Les Primitifs Flamands* (1861).

No definitive study has as yet been published on the followers and possible disciples of Bosch. It would be pointless to enumerate the publications on the numerous paintings attributed to imitators of Bosch. More relevant to the present volume are some recent publications in which certain paintings are separated from Bosch's œuvre and given to anonymous imitators. Boon (1871) has pointed out that both the *Christ Shown to the People* (No. 78) and the *St. James* (No. 100) may be works of a single master, who was an imitator of Bosch. The same author, and Arndt as well (1881), express the opinion that paintings traditionally described as copies after lost originals by Bosch may in reality have been composed by imitators, on the basis of figures and fragments from Bosch's compositions. As an example Boon cites *The Concert in the Egg* (No. 108); Arndt mentions the same picture and also *The Dance of the Fools* (No. 107), the *Boston Christ Shown to the People* (add. 149) (1891), and *The Last Judgment* in Munich (Supp. 134).

The popularity of Bosch's works in mid-16th century is attested to in all the publications on this master. Steppe (1901) and Kurz (1911) have recently drawn attention to tapestries woven after Bosch's *Garden of Delights* for Cardinal Granvelle and the Duke of Alba.

1. See also Vol. x, p. 10 of the German edition.

2. In Panofsky's opinion it is not impossible that Dürer stopped off in Haarlem on his trip of 1490-91. He draws attention to some borrowings from Geertgen's paintings in the work of Dürer. See E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, I, Princeton, 1945, pp. 23-24.

3. Plate 132. Friedländer's doubts about the date of this engraving are corroborated by Hoogewerff, who has been able to narrow down the dating to between 1621 and 1630, on the ground of the dedicatory inscription to Jacob van Campen. See G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 138-139.

4. In the original edition: 1679, a misprint for 1649.

5. For a reconstruction of the original dimensions of the triptych see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 497.

6. See also Vol. x, p. 38 of the German edition.

7. A résumé of the long discussion on the picture and its date is given by C. Roosegaarde Bisschop, 'De Geschilderde Maquette in Nederland', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, VII, 1956, pp. 180-185. It is generally accepted now that the picture was painted by Pieter Gheryts of Haarlem, in 1518.

8. The missing child, Joseph Justus, was not an apostle. This may be the reason why he is not represented here.

9. In 1950 Friedländer published a fourth version of this subject: the Cleveland panel (Add. 138).

10. Adolph of Cleves and Ravestein (1425-1492) married Anne, illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good of Burgundy, in 1470, after the death of his first wife, Beatrice of Coimbra. From 1457 to 1468 Anne had been the wife of Adriaen van Borssele. The inscription of the banderole is the prophecy of the Sibyl of Samos, in the *Discordantie* of Filippo Barbieri, published in 1481. See E. Mâle, *l'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Âge en France*, 5th edition, Paris, 1949, pp. 259-260. The form of the banderole and the inscription are to be compared with those on the presumed portrait of Maria Moreel as the Persian Sibyl, by Memling (Vol. VI, No. 94).

11. See also Vol. x, p. 76 of the German edition.

12. See also Vol. XII, p. 107 of the German edition.

13. See also Vol. x, p. 51 of the German edition.

14. See also Supp. 122.

15. Later in the C. Lückert collection, Amsterdam; 24.5 x 19 cm. Cf. No. 41. Present location unknown.

16. One of the two armorial bearings has been identified as that of the Van den Bergh family. See R. van Luttervelt, 'De Herkomst van de Meester van de Virgo inter Virgines', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, III, 1952, pp. 57-71.

17. A survey of the historical data on Bosch is given by P. Gerlach, 'De Bronnen voor het Leven en Werk van Jeroen Bosch',

in *Brabantia*, XVI, 1967, pp. 58-65, 95-104.

18. Bosch was enrolled as a member of the Brotherhood in 1486-1487. A documentation on his connection with the Brotherhood has been recently presented by P. Gerlach, 'Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch en de Onze Lieve Vrouwe-Broederschap', in *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen bij Gelegenheid van de Herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch* 1967, Bois le Duc, 1967, pp. 48-60.

19. In the original edition: 1435/36, a misprint for 1434/35.

20. The painter's father was Anthonis van Aken, a son of the Jan van Aken, mentioned by Friedländer. See Note 17 for a publication on Bosch's genealogy.

21. The text is to be found in an account of 1504 in the Archives Départementales at Lille (B. 2185, fol. 230v) and reads: *ung grant tableau de peinture de 9 pietz de hault et 11 pietz de long Ou doit estre le Jugement de dieu assavoir paradis et infer que icellui Seigneur lui avoit ordonné faire pour son tres noble plaisir.*

22. The sixteenth-century documents on paintings in the collection of the Spanish king have been republished by Jacqueline Folie, 'Les Oeuvres Authentifiées des Primitifs Flamands', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, VI, 1963, pp. 233-240.

23. In 1934 the National Gallery bought the *Mocking of Christ* (Supp. 133).

24. Now in the Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

25. See also Supp. 135.

26. Ashmolean Museum.

27. Now in the S. Paolo Museum of Art (Plate 81); 127.6 x 101.6 cm. From the convent of S. Sophia at Seville.

28. Now in the Barnes Foundation (Plate 81), Merion, Pennsylvania.

29. The panel may have been trimmed on all sides, judging from an early sixteenth-century copy in the Convent of Pedralbes at Barcelona (45 x 31 cm). See M. Davies, 'National Gallery Notes, I. Netherlandish Primitives: Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXX, 1937, p. 89.

30. See also p. 88.

31. See also Vol. x, p. 42 of the German edition.

32. The original of this composition seems to have been taller than the Leipzig copy. A partial copy in an English private collection shows a landscape above the figure of the preaching saint. See Add. 141.

33. See Note 10.

34. See Note 7.

35. See also Vol. x, p. 39 of the German edition.

36. Restored after its acquisition by the Berlin Museum, the painting proved to be the obverse of an altarpiece shutter. An

examination of *The Martyrdom of St. Lucia* (No. 27) at Amsterdam showed that this panel was the reverse of the Berlin painting. See Irene Kunze, 'Neuerwerbungen Niederländischer Gemälde', in *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LX, 1939, p. 8.

37. See Note 36.

38. Friedländer saw this picture only in its unrestored state. The architecture and landscape of the background were over-painted in gold. The painting is now ascribed to a Ghent master. See F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin 1964, p. 296.

39. See Suppl. 122.

40. See Note 16.

41. See Add. 143.

42. From the convent of San Lucca at Rome.

43. The shutters are now rearranged in the right sequence. In 1820 the triptych was in the Royal Palace at Lucca. It comes from a church in that town. Waterhouse, who published this provenance, draws attention to the fact that the *Uffizi Crucifixion* (No. 54) too was already in Italy in the eighteenth century. He thinks it possible that the painter worked for some time in Florence. See E. K. Waterhouse, 'Some Old Masters other than Spanish in the Bowes Museum', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1953, p. 120.

44. The resemblance in the dimensions and handling of this picture to Suppl. 124 and Add. 145 suggests that they are all parts of the same altarpiece.

45. It is generally accepted that this panel is a replica of the subsequently discovered original at Enghien. See Add. 146.

46. The front and the verso of these panels are now separated; the grisaille *Annunciation* forms now one painting.

47. The copy in the Casa Torres collection (Plate 51) is now in the collection of Prof. W. A. Moonen, Vught, Netherlands.

48. According to Michel, a Spanish copy from the second half of the sixteenth century. See E. Michel, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du xve et du xvie Siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 18-19.

49. A drawing in the Louvre, Rothschild collection, shows the same composition with a donor with his patron saint in the foreground, on the left. This drawing was published by K. G. Boon, 'Hieronymus Bosch', in *The Burlington Magazine*, cii, 1960, pp. 457-458. Boon doubts the authenticity of the Rotterdam panel. He thinks that the Louvre drawing may be a closer copy of a lost original. Two painted copies, at Antwerp and 's-Heerenberg, are close to the Rotterdam version, but show no dogs in the foreground. See *Jheronimus Bosch*, Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1967, p. 89.

50. A third version, now in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen (Cat. No. 102; 102 x 155.5 cm), was published by Friedländer as a work of Bruegel. See M. J. Friedländer, 'Neues von Pieter Bruegel', in *Pantheon*, vii, 1931, pp. 53-59; see also Vol. xiv, No. 3. The attribution to Bruegel is not generally accepted. See G. Glück, *Das grosse Bruegelwerk*, 3rd edition, Vienna/Munich, 1955, p. 39.

51. The subject of this painting is *Christ before Pilate*.

52. Now restored; see E. T. Dewald, 'The Recent Cleaning of Bosch's "Christ before Pilate"', in *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, vii, 1948, No. 2, pp. 1-5.

53. From x-ray photographs it appears that originally there were two kneeling donors in the lower left corner. See A. Wolters, 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Röntgenaufnahmen nach Gemälden des Städelischen Kunstinstituts', in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, vii-viii, 1932, pp. 234-236.

54. Couwater is the convent of Coudewater at Rosmalen near Bois le Duc.

55. The picture was restored in 1938. On this occasion a later addition, a third column, was removed, and a narrow vertical strip was added between the two halves of the painting. It became clear, moreover, that the panel had been shortened at the bottom. A second version, in the possession of the Clowes Fund, Inc., at Indianapolis (Cat. No. 6; 61.5 x 52 cm), is slightly different. It shows the third column and a flat wall in the foreground. According to some authors, this panel is also an original. A drawing of the *Carrying of the Cross* in the Crocker Art Gallery in Sacramento, California, shows the same scene in the left background. See *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, No. 56.

56. The picture does not come from the Chapel of the Epiphany but from the Capilla de los Reyes in the Dominican convent at Valencia. This was the funeral chapel of Mencía de Mendoza (1554), to whose collection the painting belonged. See J. K. Stepper, 'Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdrage tot Historische en Ikonografische Studie van Zijn Werk', in *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen bij Gelezenheid van de Herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967*, Bois le Duc, 1967, pp. 21-22.

57. During a restoration in 1956-1957 a vertical strip 1 cm wide was added between the two parts of the panel. See R. van Schoute, 'Le Portement de Croix de Jérôme Bosch au Musée de Gand', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, 11, 1959, pp. 47-58.

58. Restored in 1935. Some details that had been painted over were then uncovered, e.g. a cross in the foreground, the upper half of the tree trunk on the right and the landscape behind. See L. Baldass, 'Ein Kreuzigungsalter von Hieronymus Bosch', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.f. ix, 1935, pp. 87-89. Baldass supposes that the panel was considerably shortened. In his opinion, the panel was originally the left shutter of a triptych about 80 cm high.

59. Eigenberger's restoration was restricted to the central panel. Olga Fleissner restored the shutters in 1954. See M. Pochkalous, *Hieronymus Bosch in der Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*, Vienna 1967.

60. The grisaille painting on the reverse of the shutters, representing *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, was restored in 1959. See 'Vondst van een Grisailleschildering van Hieronymus Bosch in het Stedelijk Museum te Brugge', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge*, xcvi, 1959, pp. 253-254. See also A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Musée Com-

municipal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 1), 2nd edition, Antwerp, 1959, p. 13, Note 1.

61. Under the coat of paint the silhouettes of two standing saints are visible.

62. Originally rounded at the top, as had been suggested by L. von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna 1943, pp. 244-245. The branches of the trees in the upper corners are painted in a slightly different technique.

63. Restored in 1950-1951. See V. Moschini, 'Altri Dipinti Restaurati nel Veneto', in *Boletino d'Arte*, xxvii, 1952, pp. 79-81. x-ray photographs showed a large figure of a kneeling donor on each of the shutters. For a reconstruction of the original form see: D. Bax, *Jeroen Bosch' Drieluik met de Gekruisigde Martelares*, Amsterdam, 1961 (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N. R. LXVIII, No. 5).

64. The painting somewhat resembles the *Allegory of Intemperance* (Supp. 130) in technique. Possibly both are fragments of a single panel. See Hélène Adhémar, 'Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris, 1' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 5), Brussels, 1962, pp. 20-32.

65. See Add. 150.

66. When this painting appeared at the Charpentier auction, Paris, in May 1953, it was seen to have been cleaned since 1920.

67. See Vol. III, Add. 130.

68. See Vol. III, No. 37.

69. Sometime between 1937 and 1939 the front and verso of the panel were separated.

70. See Note 44.

71. Usually called *Allegory of Intemperance*. According to Lotte Brand Philip, this panel is a fragment from an ensemble that included *The Ship of Fools* (No. 106); see Note 64. The resemblance in technique between the two panels is also emphasized by C. T. Eisler, 'New England Museums' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 4), Brussels 1961, pp. 44-49.

72. See M. Davies, 'The National Gallery, London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, 3), Antwerp, 1953, pp. 18-21.

73. Since 1934 this panel has been considered an authentic work by Bosch. It is often thought to be a fragment from a *Last Judgment*, commissioned by Philip the Fair in 1504 (See pp. 45-46). The painting was ascribed to Bosch in 1893, an attribution rejected in 1909. Arndt is convinced that it is the work of an imitator of Bosch. See K. Arndt, 'Zur Ausstellung Jheronimus Bosch's-Hertogenbosch 1967', in *Kunstchronik*, xxi, 1968, pp. 11-12.

74. Restored in 1937. The painting is not done in grisaille.

75. Almost all authors think this triptych is the work of a follower of Bosch. See A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (Musée Groeninge), Bruges' (*Les Primitifs Flamands*, I. *Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux*

au Quinzième Siècle, 1), 2nd edition, Antwerp, 1959, pp. 6-11.

76. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 138-191.

77. W. Vogelsang, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans*, Amsterdam, 1942.

78. J. H. H. Kessler, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Zijn Herkomst en Invloed in Holland*, Utrecht, 1930.

79. See p. 31. Friedländer's earlier opinion and references to the older literature are to be found in M. J. Friedländer, 'Geertgen', in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker, XIII, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 328-330.

80. N. Beets, in *Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, published by H. E. van Gelder, Utrecht, 1935, p. 134. Reprinted unchanged in the 4th edition, 1963.

81. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 219-220. He ascribes the portrait to the Master of the Page beneath the Cross (identical with Friedländer's Master of the Figdor Deposition).

82. M. Davies, 'National Gallery Notes, 1. Netherlandish Primitives: Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXX, 1937, pp. 88-92. Davies maintains his doubts on the authenticity of the *Nativity* (No. 1) in his *Early Netherlandish School* (*National Gallery Catalogues*), 2nd edition, London, 1955, p. 43, where the panel is mentioned as ascribed to Geertgen.

83. K. Oettinger, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst des Hugo van der Goes', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N. F. XII, 1938, pp. 66-68. Works accepted by him as original are, in proposed chronological order: the triptych at Prague (No. 4), *St. John the Baptist* (No. 12), *The Virgin and Child* (No. 8), *The Raising of Lazarus* (No. 5), the two panels in Vienna (No. 6), the London *Nativity* (No. 1) and the *Man of Sorrows* (No. 7).

84. K. G. Boon, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Stimmung und Inhalt Seiner Kunst', in *Pantheon*, xxiv, 1939, pp. 334-340.

85. K. G. Boon, 'De Erfenis van Aelbert van Ouwater', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, I, 1947, p. 34. The author states he can find no resemblance between Ouwater and Geertgen.

86. M. J. Friedländer, 'Zu Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xxv, 1949, pp. 186-188.

87. M. J. Friedländer, 'Eine bisher unbekannte Epiphanie von Geertgen', in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, xxvi, 1950, pp. 10-12.

88. See e.g. H. Gerson, *Van Geertgen tot Frans Hals*, Amsterdam, 1950, pp. 11-14.

89. R. Koch, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Bruges', in *The Art Bulletin*, xxxiii, 1951, pp. 259-260.

90. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 324-330.

91. A. Châtelet, 'A propos des Johannites de Haarlem et du Retable peint par Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *Bulletin des Relations Artistiques France-Allemagne*, special issue, May 1951, p. 5. Indirectly the same author has drawn attention to his dating for Geertgen's altarpiece by placing van Ouwater's period of activity as early as 1440-1460. See A. Châtelet, 'Albert van Ouwater', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, cii, 1960, LV, p. 74.

92. Cited in the catalogue of the exhibition *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 18.

93. Suzanne Sulzberger, 'Gérard de Saint Jean et l'Art de la Miniature', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 167-169.

94. Suzanne Sulzberger, 'La Glorification de la Vierge de Gérard de Saint Jean', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, p. 169.

95. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Postscriptum', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, pp. 169-173.

96. G. Th. M. Lemmens, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans "Kruisiging met de Heilige Dominicus"', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 73-75.

97. See Note 95.

98. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Wanneer verbleef Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Vlaanderen?', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, pp. 76-83.

99. See Note 78.

100. K. G. Boon, 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans of Mostaert', in *Oud-Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 61-62. He expresses the same opinion in his short monograph, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans*, Amsterdam, 1967.

101. See Vol. X, No. 23.

102. A. van Schendel, 'De Boom van Jesse en het Probleem van Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, V, 1957, pp. 75-83, where the earlier literature on this attribution is discussed.

103. J. E. Snyder, 'Geertgen schildert de Voorouders van Christus', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, V, 1957, pp. 84-94.

104. J. E. Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, II. Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *The Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, pp. 113-132.

105. See Note 103.

106. W. Krönig, 'Geertgens Bild Johannes des Täufers', in *Das Münster*, III, 1950, pp. 193-206.

107. R. Fritz, 'Zur Ikonographie von Leonardos Bacchus-Johannes', in *Museion. Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für Otto H. Förster*, Cologne, 1960, pp. 98-101.

108. J. A. Engelbregt, 'Het Glorieuze Rozenkransgeheim van Maria's Kroning in de Hemel door Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in *Album Discipulorum J. G. van Gelder*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 31-44.

109. H. W. van Os, 'Coronatio, Glorificatio en Maria in Sole', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XV, 1964, pp. 22-38.

110. J. Šíp, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Die Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige*, Prague, 1963.

111. See p. 89.

112. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 192-239.

113. Hoogewerff calls this painter the Master of the Page beneath the Cross, after the painting in the Rijksmuseum (No. 28); other authors use the name Master of the Martyrdom of St. Lucy (after No. 27).

114. See Note 83.

115. For the relation between North Netherlandish and Westphalian painting see G. Fiensch, 'Beobachtungen an Westfälischen und Niederländischen Tafelbildern des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Westfalen*, XLIII, 1965, pp. 201-219. He professes to trace back a

resemblance in landscape and composition to the middle of the fifteenth century.

116. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, p. 364.

117. N. F. van Gelder-Schrijver, 'De Meester van Alkmaar, II', in *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, p. 42.

118. L. Fröhlich-Burn, 'Einige Werke des Meisters von Alkmaar in Wiener Privatbesitz', in *Oud-Holland*, LI, 1934, pp. 182-183.

119. M. J. Schretlen, 'Een Haarlemsch Stadsgezicht uit de 15de eeuw', in *Oud-Holland*, XLVII, 1930, pp. 122-129.

120. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 225-230.

121. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler des Spätgotischen Stiles', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. XI, 1937, p. 119.

122. M. J. Schretlen, 'Een vroeg Werk van Jacob Cornelisz.', in *Oud-Holland*, LV, 1938, pp. 148-151.

123. Irene Kunze, 'Neuerwerbungen Niederländischer Gemälde', in *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LX, 1939, pp. 8-10.

124. R. van Luttervelt, 'Schilderijen met Karthuizers uit de late 15de en de vroege 16de Eeuw', in *Oud-Holland*, LXVI, 1951, pp. 75-92.

125. See also Vol. X, No. 20.

126. *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 30.

127. A. Fries, 'Anna-Selbstdritt samt Sippe auf einem Tafelbild des Meisters des Braunschweiger Diptychons', in *Das Münster*, IX, 1956, pp. 23-28.

128. *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 31. See also D. Bax, 'Oud-Nederlandse Schilderye in Suid-Afrika 1450-1500', in *Standpunte*, XIII, 1960, No. 27, pp. 9-12.

129. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, pp. 285-286. See also Hoogewerff, Vol. V, The Hague, 1947, p. 57.

130. D. Hannema, 'De Meester van het Johannes Altaar', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, I, 1937 (-1950), pp. 3-4.

131. L. Baldass, 'Die Frühholändische Ausstellung in Rotterdam', in *Pantheon*, XVIII, 1936, p. 252.

132. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Hugo Jacobsz', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, VI, 1955, pp. 101-117.

133. K. G. Boon, 'Werk van een Vroege Goudse of Leidse Schilder in het Rijksmuseum', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, XVI, 1968, pp. 3-12.

134. See Vol. III, p. 83, and No. 37 and Add. 130.

135. See Note 16.

136. D. P. Oosterbaan, in *Delftsche Courant*, 18-2 and 25-2, 1956.

137. *Middeleeuwse Kunst der Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1958, No. 55.

138. K. G. Boon, *De Meester van de Virgo inter Virgines (Oud Delft, 2)*, Rotterdam/The Hague, 1963.

139. As works by followers of the master, Boon, basing himself on Friedländer's catalogue, mentions *The Betrothal of the Virgin* (No. 44), *The Lamentation* (No. 59), *The Resurrection* (Supp. 124) and the Amersfoort Triptych (No. 50). The last-named Friedländer too considered the work of an imitator.

140. J. Leeuwenberg, 'Een Werk van den Virgo-Meester en zijn Copieën', in *Oud-Holland*, LXV, 1950, pp. 117-119.

141. E. Bermejo, 'El "Cristo Muerto" del Maestro de la "Virgo inter Virgines"', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXVIII, 1955, pp. 261-263.

142. The Enghien panel differs in one respect from the three other versions, as was stated at the restoration of 1967 in Brussels. Before this restoration, the woman behind the Virgin held the fingers of her left hand spread out. This same gesture is seen in the three other versions. In the Enghien panel the hand proved to be overpainted: the woman is supporting the swooning Virgin with her hand.

143. G. Heinz, 'Das Bild der Verkündigung Mariæ vom Meister der Virgo inter Virgines im Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum', in *Jahresschrift des Salzburger Museum Carolino Augusteum*, VI, 1960-1961, pp. 53-62.

144. Ch. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Baden-Baden, 1965, pp. 411-415.

145. *Jheronimus Bosch*, Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1967, pp. 237-243, bibliography by H.M.F.M.C. van Crimpen.

146. X. de Salas, *El Bosco en la Literatura Española*, Barcelona, 1943; and X. de Salas, 'Mas sobre el Bosco en España', in *Homenaje a J. A. van Praag*, Amsterdam, 1956, pp. 108-113.

147. See Notes 17 and 18 for recent publications on documents about Bosch.

148. See e.g. F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 214-215.

149. See pp. 71-72.

150. Ch. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Basle, 1937; 2nd edition, Baden-Baden, 1965 (English edition, London, 1966).

151. Nos. 67, 73, 77, 104, 105 and 109 of Friedländer's catalogue.

152. Nos. 68, 76, 82, 93 and 103 of Friedländer's catalogue.

153. The works mentioned by de Tolnay as authentic bear the following numbers in Friedländer's catalogue: 67, 68, 73, 76(?), 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 90, 93, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 111, and Supp. 130, 131, 133, 134 and 135.

154. M. J. Friedländer, *Hieronymus Bosch. Ein Vortrag*, The Hague, 1941. Reprinted in the catalogue of the exhibition *Jheronimus Bosch*, Noordbrabants Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1967, pp. 17-26.

155. L. von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1943; 2nd edition, Vienna/Munich, 1959 (English edition, London, 1960). Baldass enumerates the same series of works as de Tolnay (see note 153), except No. 76. He also considers Nos. 64 and 68 to be originals.

156. L. von Baldass, 'Die Zeichnung im Schaffen des Hieronymus Bosch und der Frühhollländer', in *Die Graphischen Künste*,

N.F. 11, 1937, pp. 18-26, 48-57.

157. J. Combe, *Jérôme Bosch*, Paris, 1946; 2nd edition, Paris, 1957.

158. See Note 150. In the new edition of his monograph, de Tolnay reconsidered and admitted that some of the works he had formerly rejected might be originals after all, i.e.: Nos. 65, 70, 76, 86 and 105 in Friedländer's catalogue.

159. E. Michel, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes. Peintures Flamandes du XVe et du XVIe Siècle*, Paris, 1953, p. 17.

160. K. G. Boon, 'Hieronymus Bosch', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, p. 458.

161. K. Arndt, 'Zur Ausstellung "Jheronimus Bosch"'s-Hertogenbosch 1967', in *Kunstchronik*, XXI, 1968, pp. 1-21.

162. De Tolnay and Baldass consider the following drawings not mentioned by Friedländer as authentic: *Beggars*, Brussels, Cabinet des Estampes (Baldass, Pl. 133; Tolnay, No. 10); *Man with Basket*, Paris, Louvre (Baldass, Pl. 134; Tolnay, No. 19); *Witches*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (Baldass, Pl. 135, 150; Tolnay, No. 2); *Nest of Owls*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (Baldass, Pl. 151; Tolnay, No. 8); *Two Men*, location unknown, formerly LeRoy M. Backus collection (Baldass, Pl. 139, 140; Tolnay, No. 8a-b).

163. K. G. Boon, 'Hieronymus Bosch. By Charles de Tolnay' (review), in *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 157-158.

164. See Note 161. For a discussion of the drawings in the exhibition see also: G. Lemmens and E. Taverne, 'Hieronymus Bosch. Naar Aanleiding van de Expositie in 's-Hertogenbosch', in *Simiolus*, II, 1967-1968, pp. 71-87.

165. See Notes 144 and 145.

166. R. L. Delevoy, *Bosch*, Genève, 1960 (English edition, Cleveland, 1960).

167. See Note 157.

168. Ch. D. Cutler, 'Witchcraft in a Work by Hieronymus Bosch', in *The Art Quarterly*, XX, 1957, pp. 128-140.

169. J. van Lennep, *Art et Alchimie. Etude de l'Iconographie Hermétique et de ses Influences*, Brussels, 1966.

170. D. Th. Enklaar, 'De Blauwe Schuit', in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLVIII, 1933, pp. 37-64, 145-161; D. Th. Enklaar, *Varende Luyden*, Assen, 1937.

171. L. Lebeer and J. Grauls, 'Het Hooi en de Hooiwagen in de Beeldende Kunsten', in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, V, 1938, pp. 141-177; D. Roggen, 'J. Bosch: Literatuur en Folklore', in *Gentsche Bijdragen...*, VI, 1939-1940, pp. 107-126; P. de Keyser, 'Rhetorische Toelichting bij het Hooi en de Hooiwagen', in *Gentsche Bijdragen...*, VI, 1939-1940, pp. 127-138; J. Grauls, 'Ter Verklaring van Bosch en Bruegel', in *Gentsche Bijdragen...*, VI, 1939-1940, pp. 139-146.

172. D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch*, The Hague, 1948.

173. Mela Escherich, 'Eine politische Satire von Hieronymus Bosch', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, IX, 1940, pp. 188-190.

174. A. Pigler, 'Astrology and Jerome Bosch', in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 132-136.

175. Lotte Brand Philip, 'The Peddler by Hieronymus Bosch.

A Study in Detection', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, ix, 1958, pp. 1-81.

176. A. Spychalska-Boczkowska, 'Material for the Iconography of Hieronymus Bosch's Triptych The Garden of Delights', in *Studia Muzealne*, v, 1966, pp. 49-95.

177. Lotte Brand Philip, 'The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch', in *The Art Bulletin*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 267-293.

178. For a survey of opinions on the subject of this painting see the article cited in Note 175.

179. D. Bax, *Jeroen Bosch' Drieluik met de Gekruisigde Martelares*, Amsterdam, 1961 (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. LXVIII, No. 5).

180. See Note 170.

181. See Note 175.

182. D. Bax, 'Bezwaren tegen L. Brand Philips Interpretatie van Jeroen Bosch' Marskramer, Goochelaar, Keisnijder en Voorgrond van Hooiwagenpaneel', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xiii, 1962, pp. 1-54.

183. J. K. Steppe, 'Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdrage tot de Histo-

rische en Ikonografische Studie van zijn Werk', in *Jheronim u Bosch. Bijdragen ter Gelegenheid van de Herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967*, Bois le Duc, 1967, pp. 5-41.

184. E. H. Gombrich, 'The Earliest Description of Bosch's Garden of Delight', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxx, 1967, pp. 403-406.

185. R. van Schoute, 'Over de Techniek van Bosch', in *Jheronimus Bosch. Bijdragen ter Gelegenheid van de Herdenkingstentoonstelling te 's-Hertogenbosch 1967*, Bois le Duc, 1967, pp. 72-79. See also the article by the same author cited in Note 57.

186. See Notes 60, 64, 71 and 72.

187. See Note 163.

188. See Note 161.

189. See also K. Arndt, 'Colin Tobias Eisler, New England Museums' (review), in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxvii, 1964, pp. 174-175.

190. See Note 183.

191. O. Kurz, 'Four Tapestries after Hieronymus Bosch', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxx, 1967, pp. 150-162.

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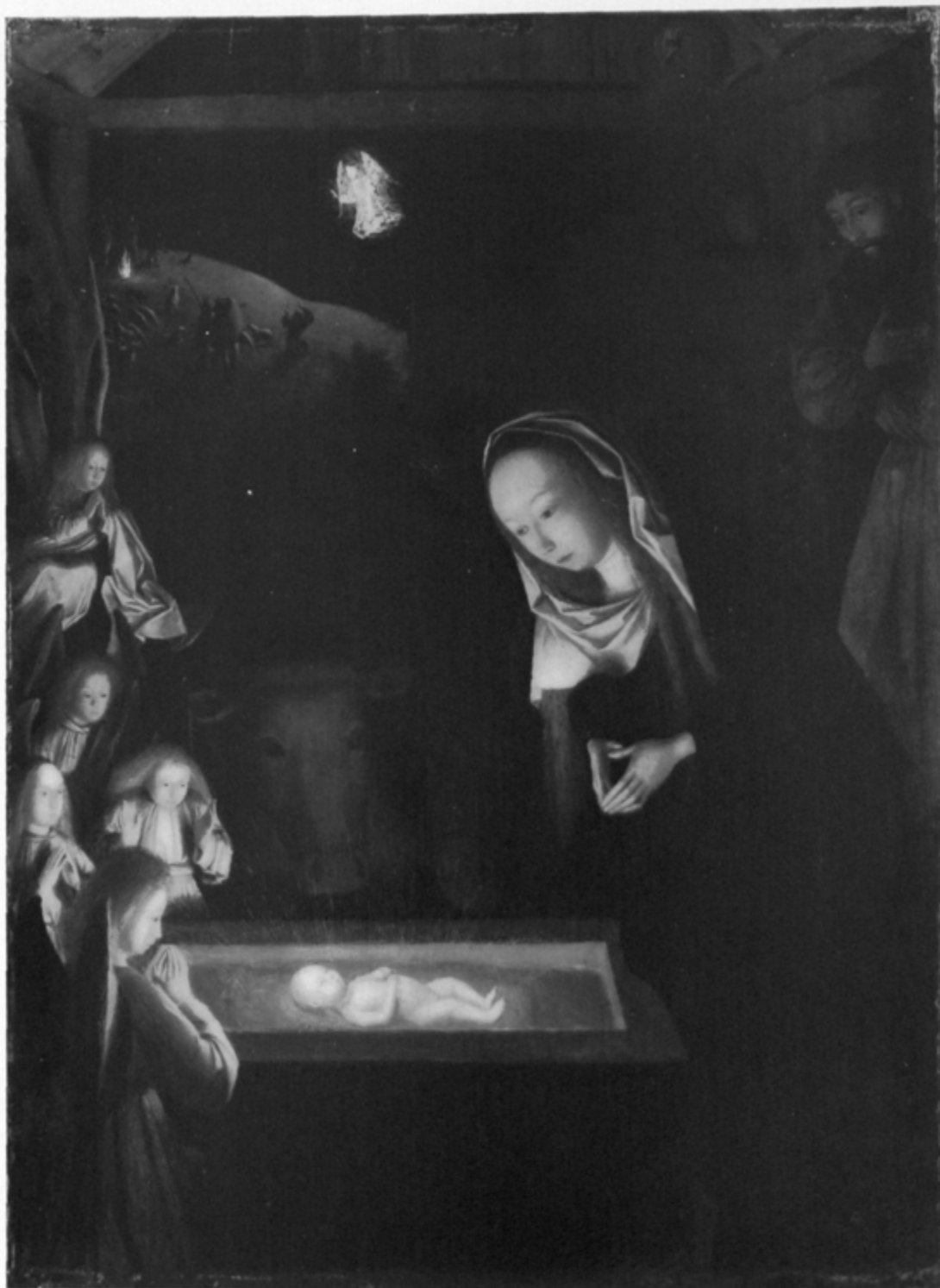
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Unless listed below, photos were supplied by the museums, institutions or collectors owning the works. Numbers within brackets refer to the catalogues.

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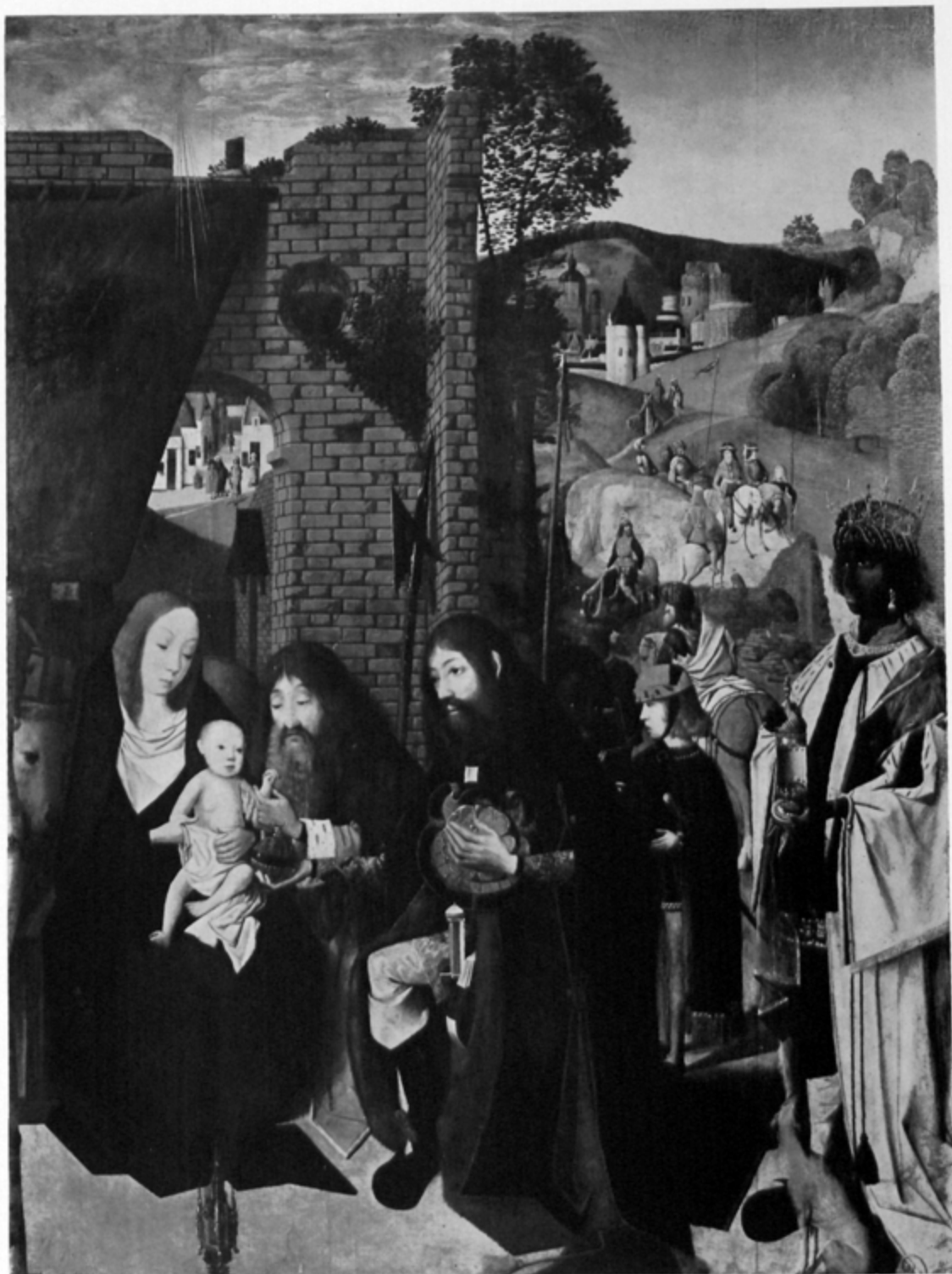
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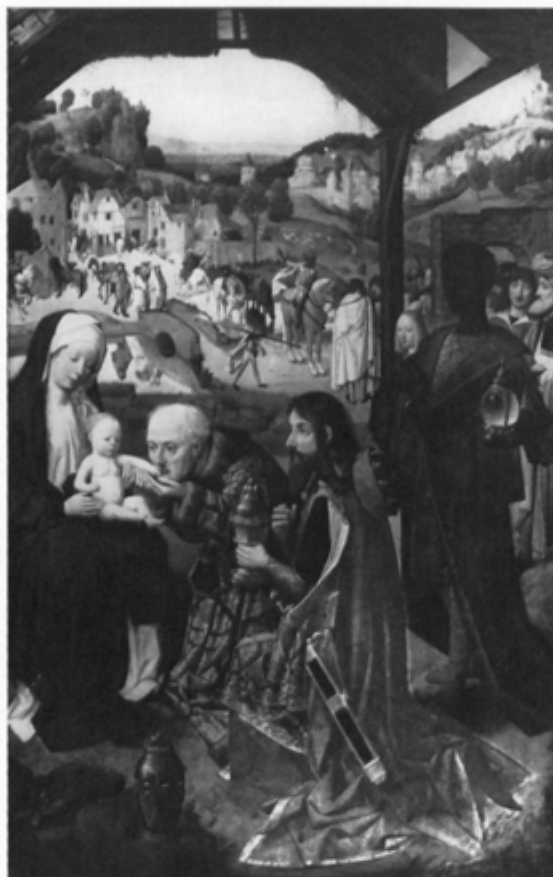
1. Geertgen. *Nativity*. London, National Gallery



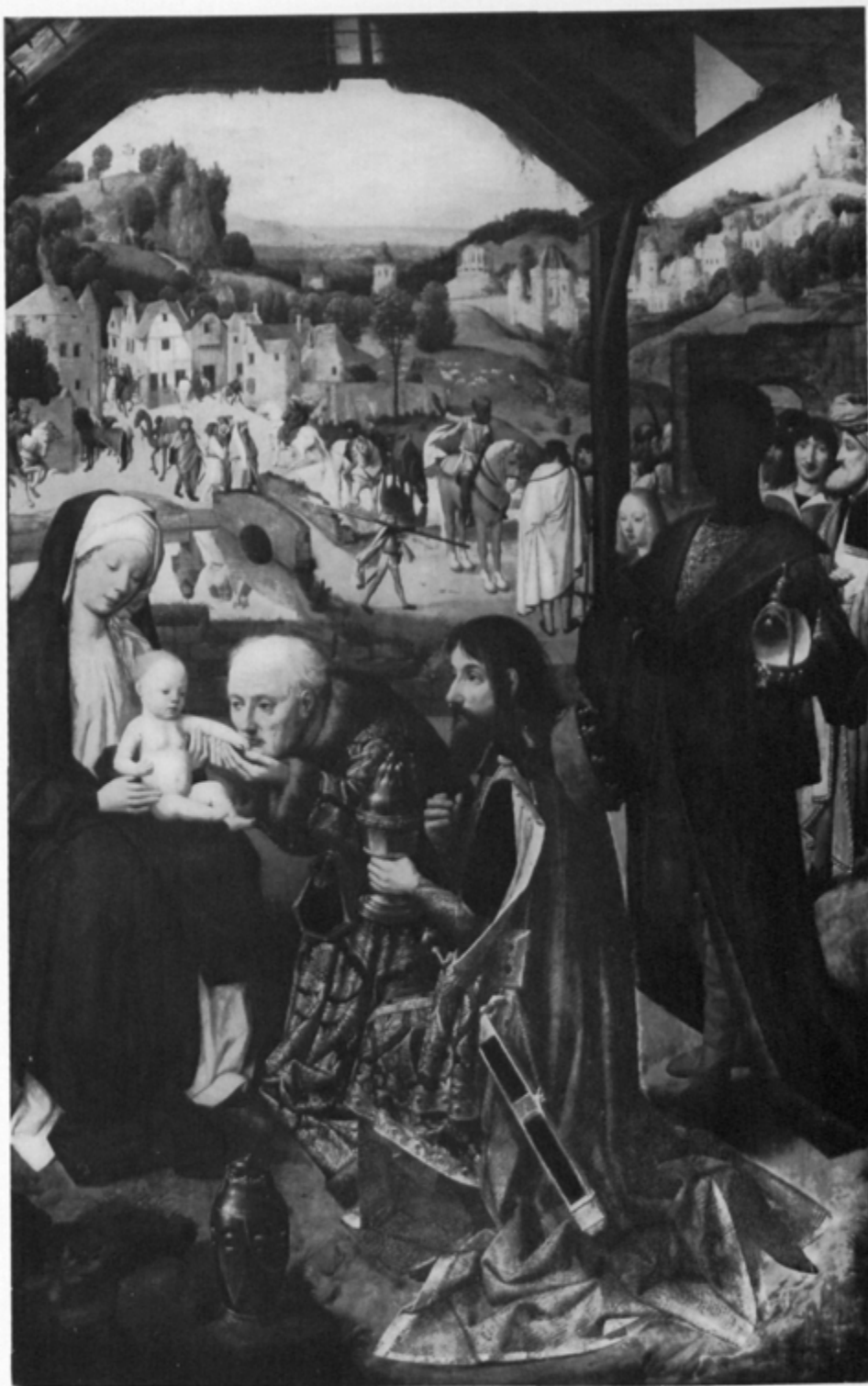
2. Geertgen. Adoration of the Magi. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



3. Geertgen. Adoration of the Magi. Winterthur, Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Römerholz



4. Geertgen. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Prague, Národní Galerie



4. Geertgen. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece, Adoration of the Kings. Prague, Národní Galerie



4. Geertgen. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Shutters, The Donor with St. Bavo and his Wife with St. Andrian.
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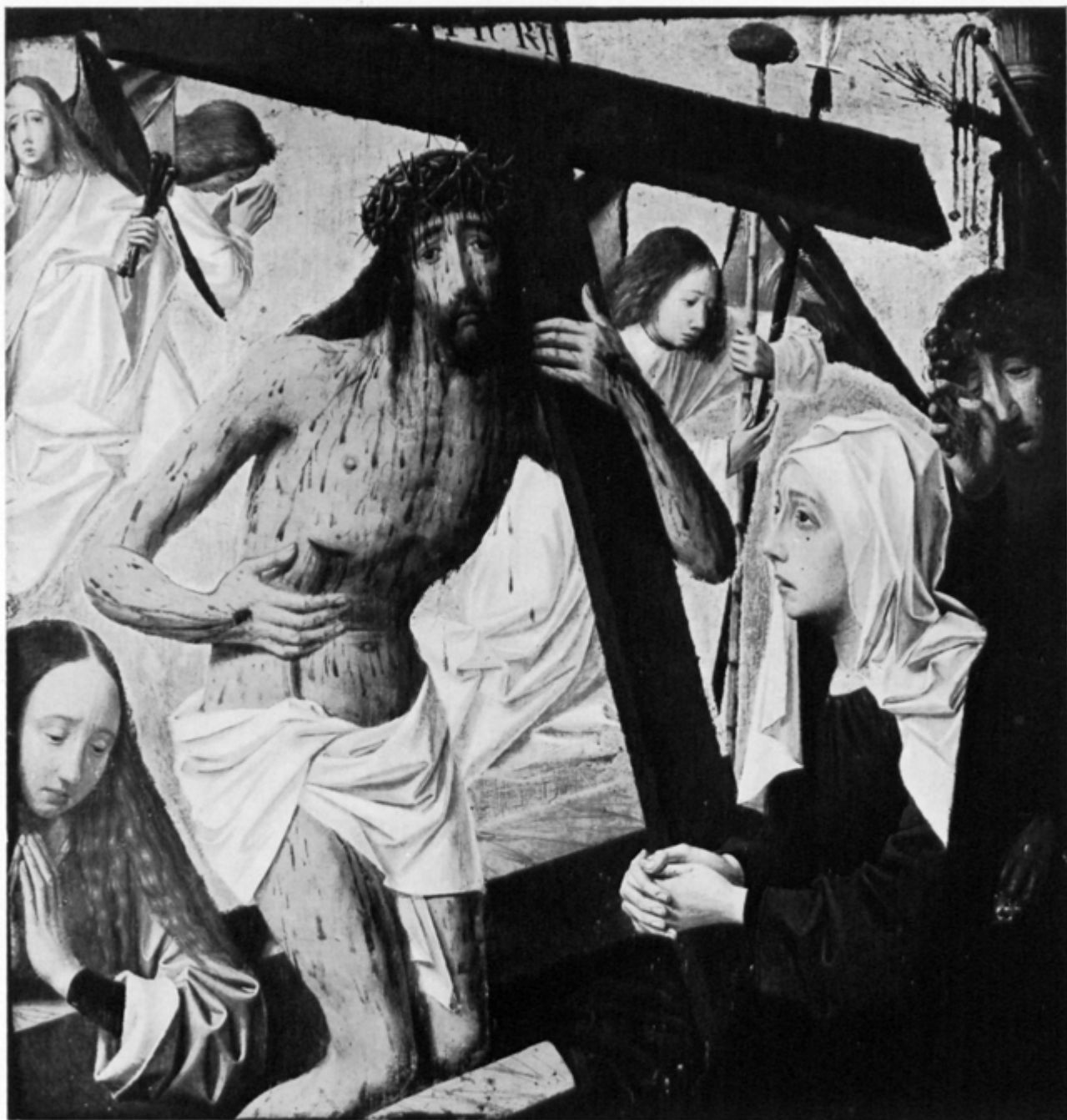
5. Geertgen. The Raising of Lazarus. Paris, Musée du Louvre



6 A. Geertgen. Right Shutter of the High Altar of the Order of St. John at Haarlem. Obverse, The Lamentation. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



6 B. Geertgen. Right Shutter of the High Altar of the Order of St. John at Haarlem. Reverse, Julian the Apostate ordering the Bones of St. John the Baptist to be Burned. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



7. Geertgen. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Utrecht, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum



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10. Geertgen. *The Holy Kindred in a Church*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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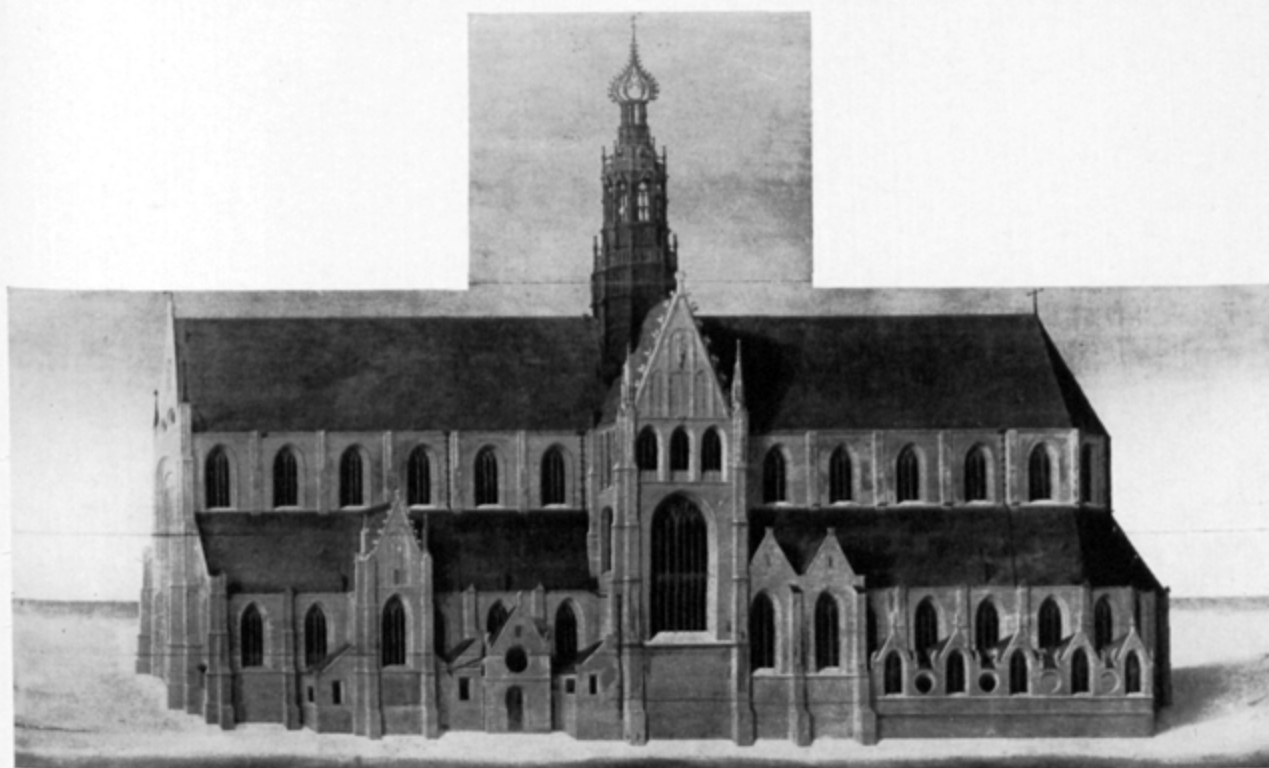
11. Geertgen. St. Bavo. Fragment. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*. Add. 141. Geertgen, copy. The Legend of the Rosary, Fragment. *England, Private Collection*. 13. Geertgen, copy. The Legend of the Rosary. *Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste*



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16. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Virgin and Child with St. Anne, a Carthusian Monk and a Female Saint (Barbara?); Reverse, St. Bavo. Diptych. Brunswick, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*



16. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Virgin and Child with St. Anne, Right Shutter of the Diptych. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



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17. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Annunciation. *Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, W. M. Burrell Collection.*
 18. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Nativity. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.* 19. Master of the Brunswick Diptych.
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20. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. The Taking of Christ, The Entombment. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 21. Master of the Brunswick Diptych. Sts. Valerian and Cecilia. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*
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23. Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin. Triptych of the Virgin and Child, Shutters, Sts. Christopher and George. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 24. Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin. Virgin and Child, with the Archangel Michael and a Donor. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



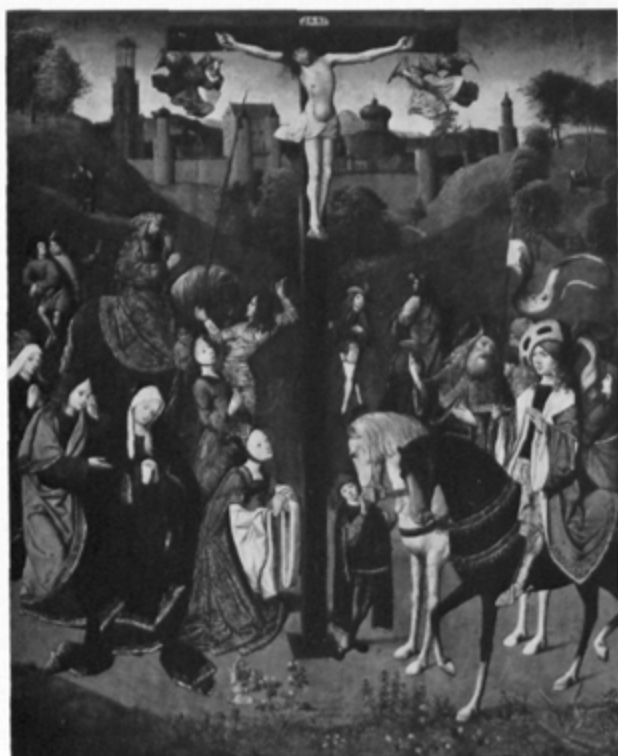
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25. Master of the Antwerp Triptych of the Virgin. Assumption of the Virgin. Bonn, *Rheinisches Landesmuseum*.
 26. Master of the Figdor Deposition. The Descent from the Cross. Formerly Berlin (lost). 27. Master of the Figdor Deposition. Martyrdom of St. Lucy. Amsterdam, *Rijksmuseum*



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28. Master of the Figdor Deposition, follower. Crucifixion. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.* 29. Master of the Figdor Deposition, follower. Crucifixion. *Utrecht, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum.* 30. Master of the Figdor Deposition, follower. Nativity. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



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32. Geertgen, copy(?). Adoration of the Magi. Munich, Art Market. 31. Geertgen, follower. Portrait of a Man. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. 33. Geertgen, follower (Jan Mostaert). Holy Family at Supper. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum



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34. Geertgen, follower. Four Female Saints, Sts. Catherine, Barbara, Agnes and Magdalene. *Formerly in Berlin, James Simon Collection, St. Magdalene now in Zurich, W. Boveri Collection.* 36. Geertgen, follower. Adoration of the Magi. *Kreuzlingen, H. Kisters Collection*



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35. Geertgen, follower. Altarpiece, Virgin and Two Female Saints; Virgin and Child with St. Anne; the Almighty. *Present location unknown.* 37. Dutch Master about 1490 (Master of the St. John's Altarpiece). Christ Meeting St. John the Baptist. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.* Supp. 122. Dutch Master about 1490 (Master of the St. John's Altarpiece). Two panels with Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



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43. Dutch Master about 1490. St. Martin. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



44. Master of the Virgin among Virgins (?). The Betrothal of the Virgin. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.
 45. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Annunciation. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Add. 144. Master of the Virgin among Virgins, follower. The Last Supper. Present location unknown





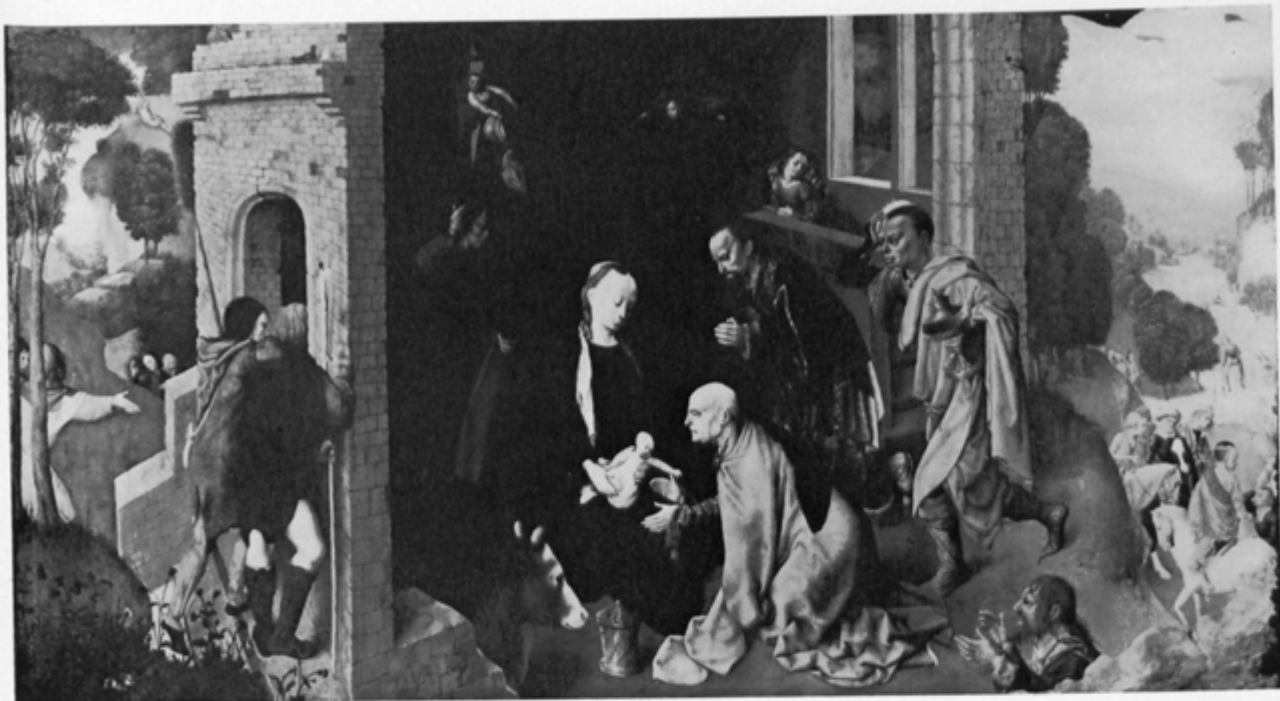
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Add. 143 | Add. 143

48. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Adoration of the Magi. Milan, *Pinacoteca di Brera*. 49. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Adoration of the Magi. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. Add. 143. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Annunciation; Reverse, Adoration of the Magi. Madrid, *Duque de Alba Collection*



51. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Altarpiece, Adoration of the Magi. Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum



51. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Altarpiece, Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. Salzburg, *Museum Carolino Augusteum*



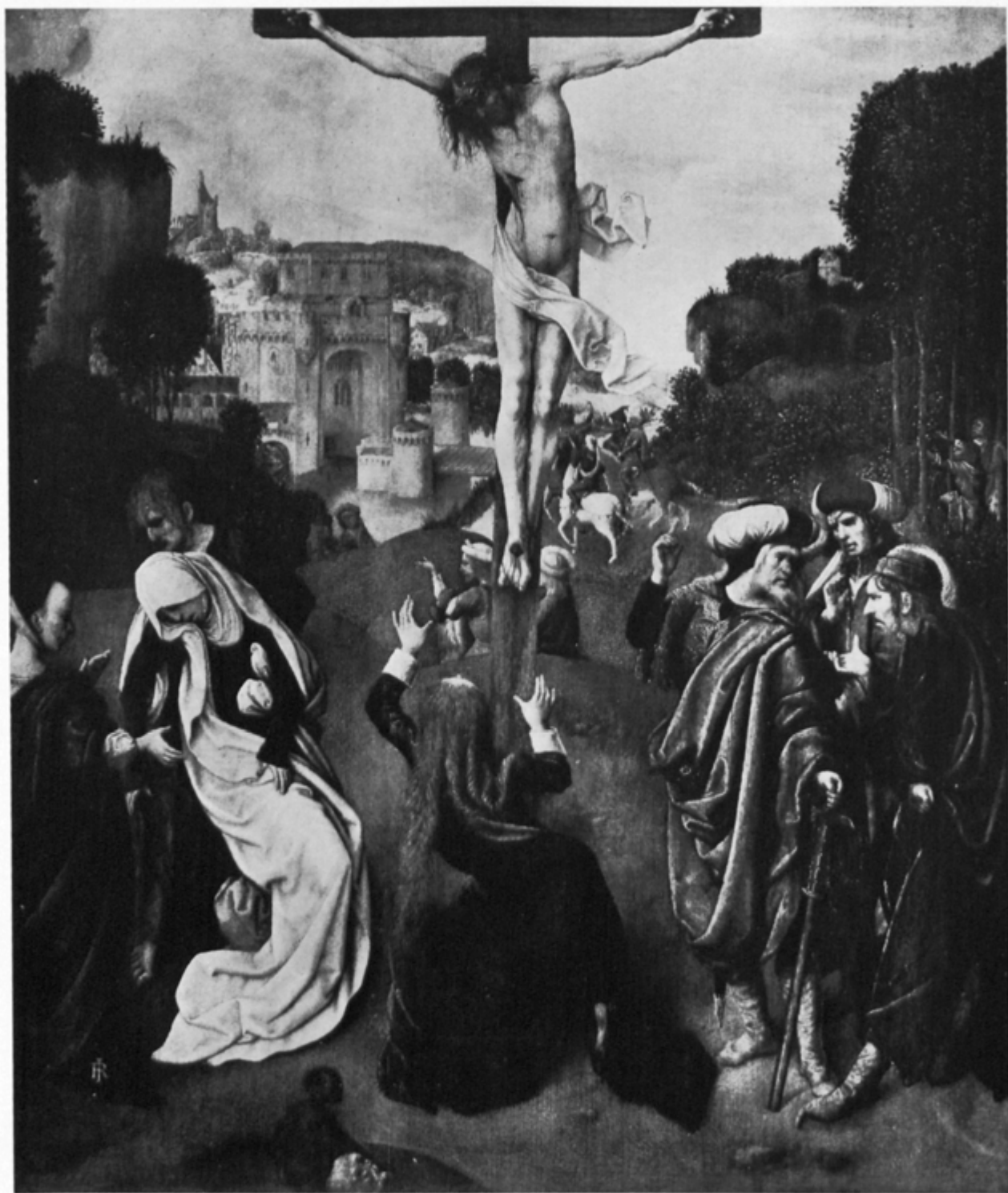
50. Master of the Virgin among Virgins, follower. Altarpiece, Adoration of the Magi. Amersfoort, Stichting Armen De Poth



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53. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Christ shown to the People. *Chicago, Art Institute, Ryerson Collection.*
 53 a. Master of The Virgin among Virgins (?). Christ shown to the People. *Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, W.M. Burrell Collection.* 52. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Right Shutter of an Adoration of the Magi. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



54. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Crucifixion. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi





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56. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Crucifixion. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.* 57. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Descent from the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 59. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Lamentation. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund*



58. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Lamentation. *Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery*



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60. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Lamentation. *Paris, Mme Marquet de Vasselot Collection. Add. 146. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Lamentation. Enghien (Belgium), Hôpital Saint-Nicolas*



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61. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Two Mourning Woman and Two Men; Reverse, Annunciation. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum. 62. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. The Holy Trinity. Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija. 63. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Virgin and Child with Saints. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



64. Jerome Bosch. *The Deluge*, Two Shutters. Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



64. Jerome Bosch. The Deluge, Two Shutters, Reverse, Allegorical Religious Scenes. Rotterdam, Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen

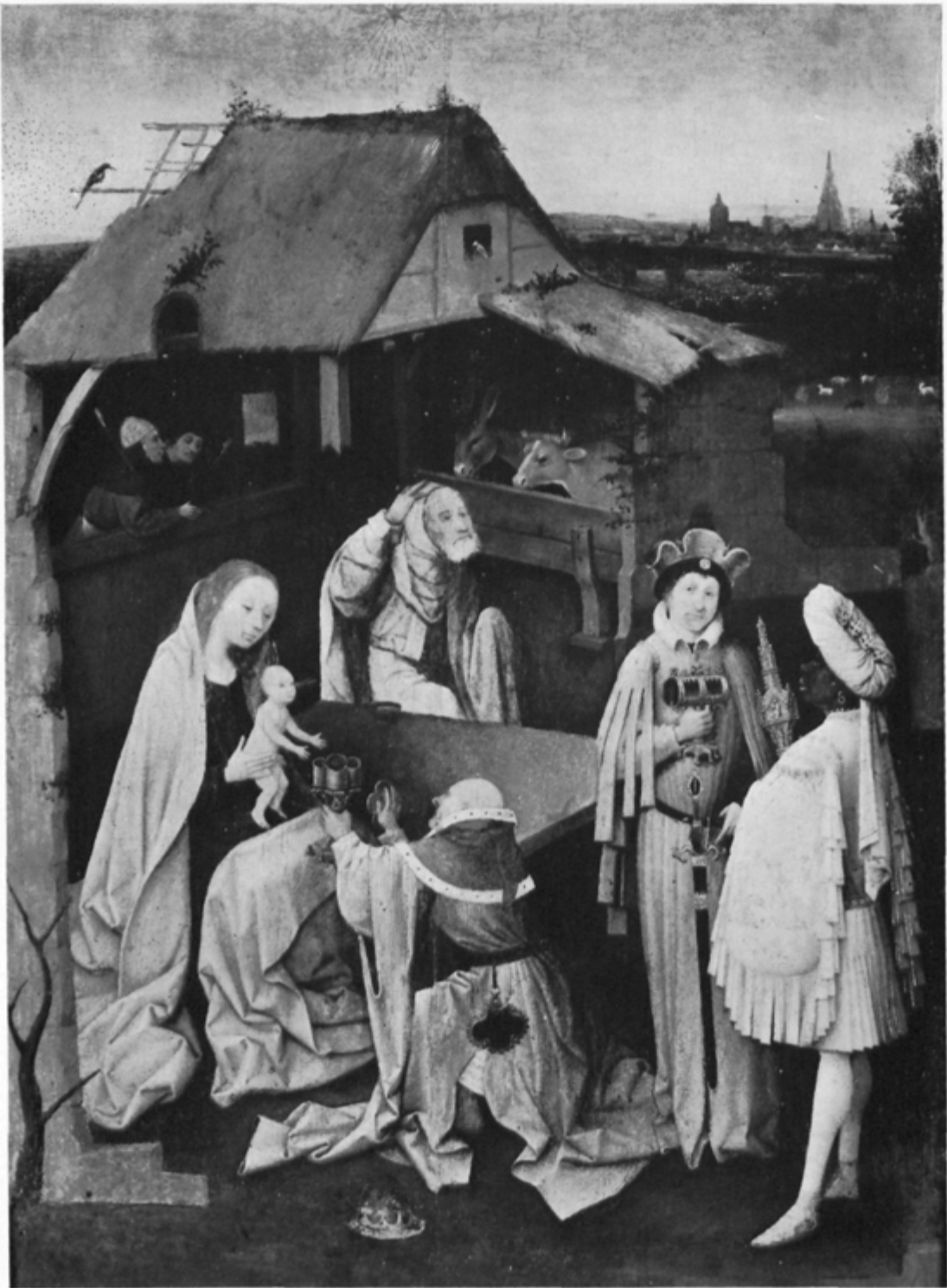


65 | 65 a

65. Jerome Bosch. *Nativity*. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. 65 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. *Nativity*, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



66. Jerome Bosch. Adoration of the Magi. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Kennedy Fund



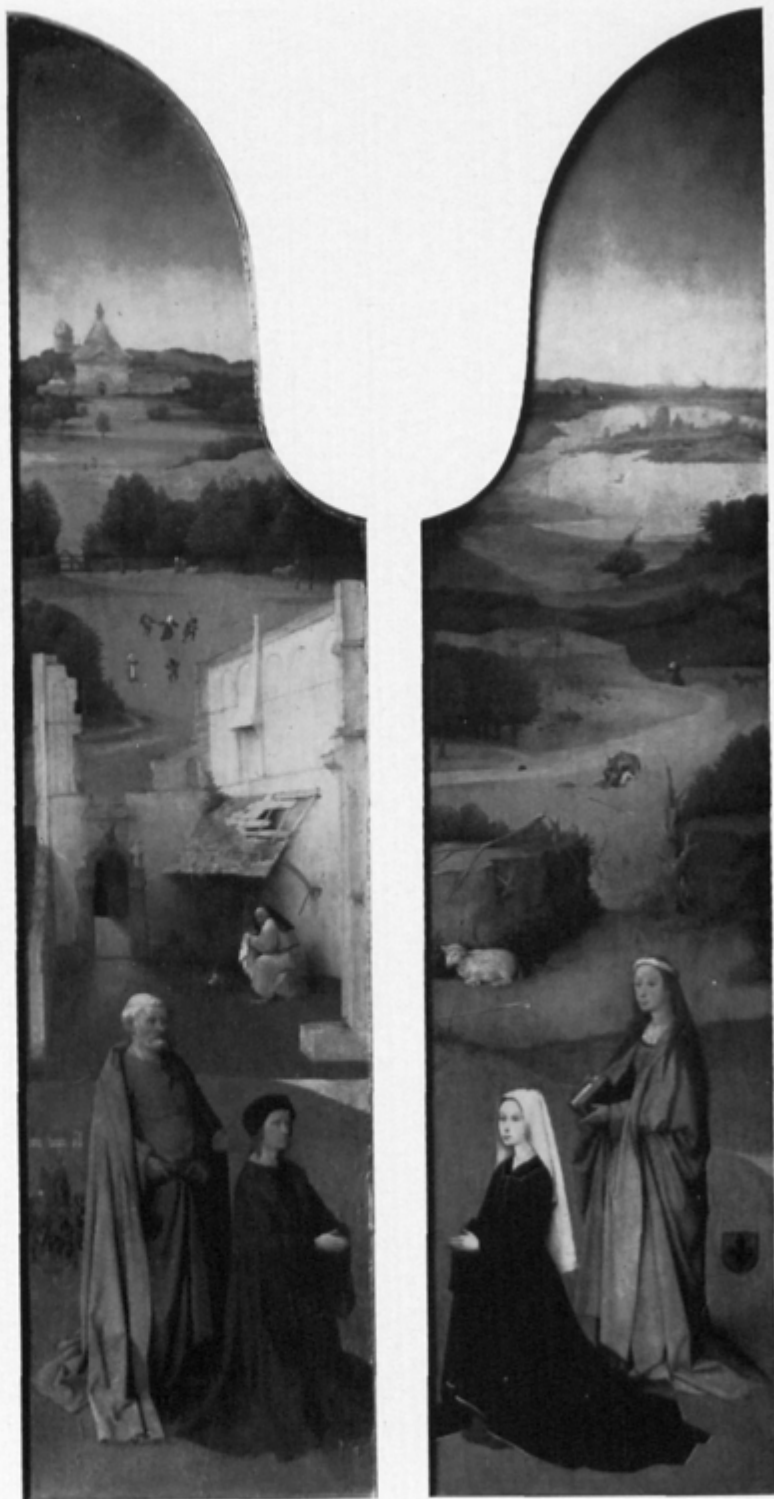
67. Jerome Bosch. Adoration of the Magi. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



68. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



68. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centre-
piece. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



68. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Shuttles, St. Peter with the Donor and St. Agnes with the Donatrix. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



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68 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. Adoration of the Magi. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 68 b. Jerome Bosch, copy. Adoration of the Magi. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 68 c. Jerome Bosch, copy. Adoration of the Magi. Berlin [East] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin A. Jerome Bosch, replica. Adoration of the Magi. Banbury, Upton House, Viscount Bearsted Collection (National Trust)

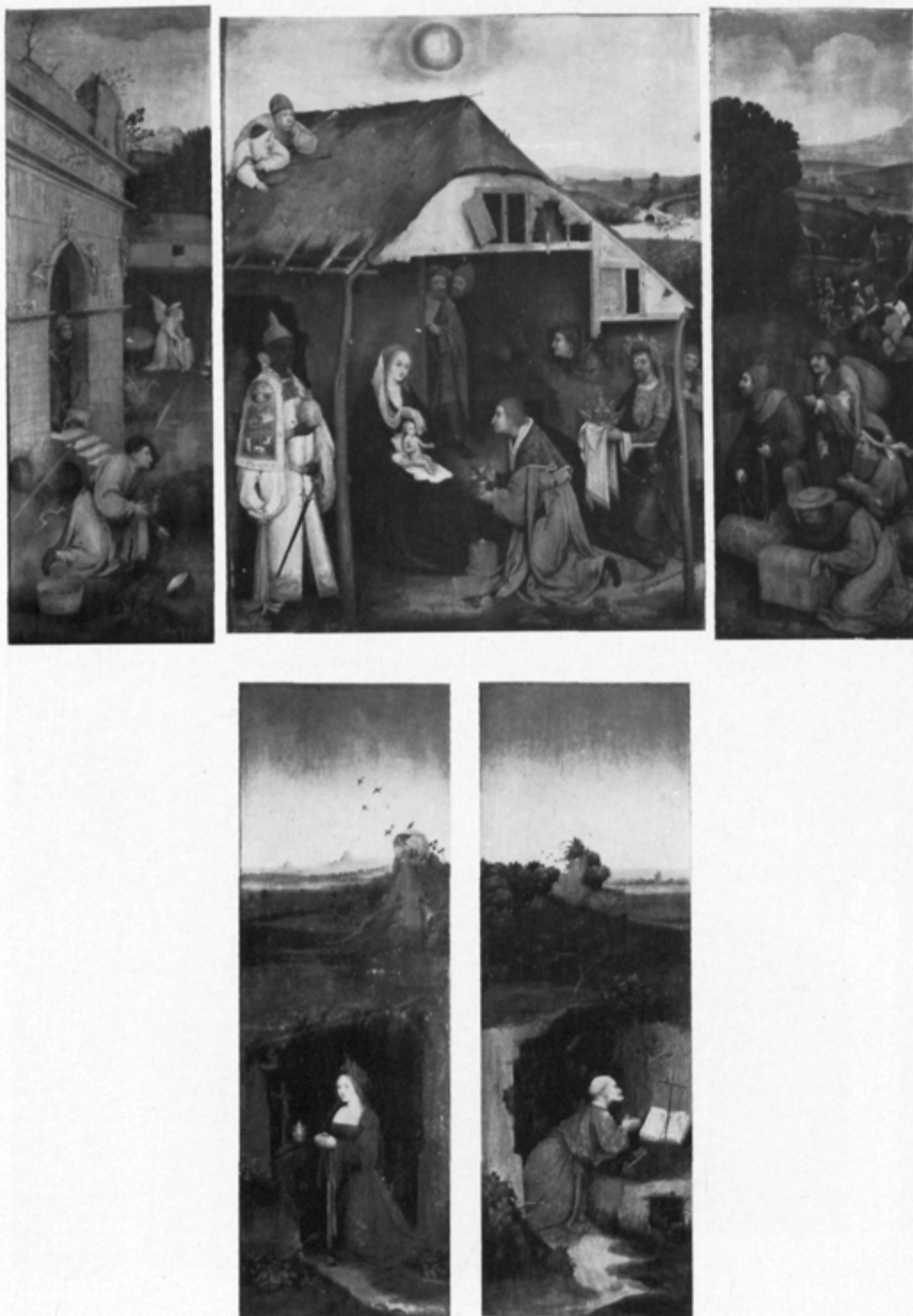


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70 | 70
| A

70. Jerome Bosch. Two Shutters from an Adoration of the Magi. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. A. Jerome Bosch, copy. Adoration of the Magi, Triptych. Vught, Moonen Collection (see N° 70)



69. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Anderlecht (Brussels)*, Church of St. Peter



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72. Jerome Bosch, copy. The Child Jesus in the Temple. Paris, Musée du Louvre. 71. Jerome Bosch (?). Adoration of the Magi. Present location unknown



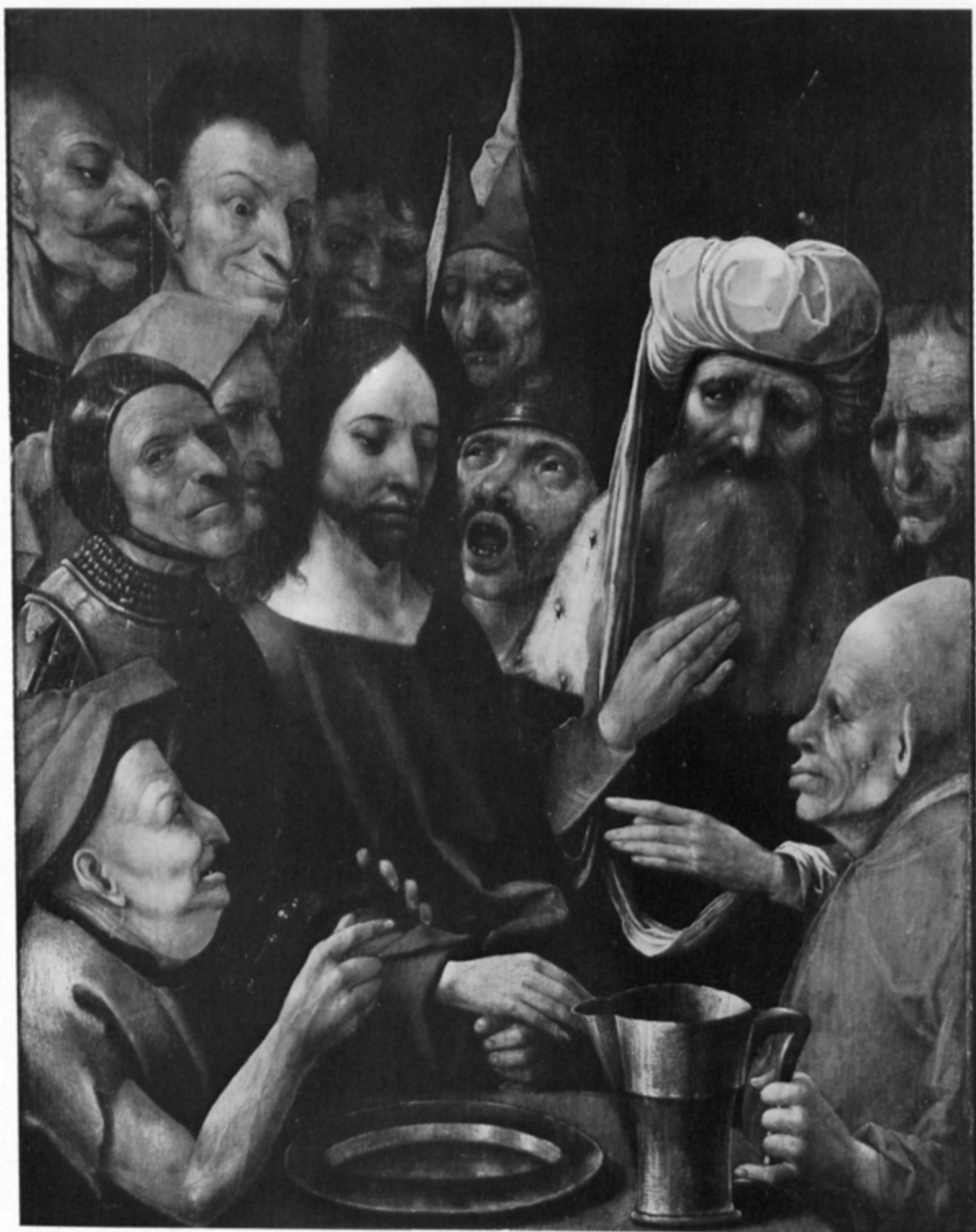
73. Jerome Bosch. The Marriage at Cana. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



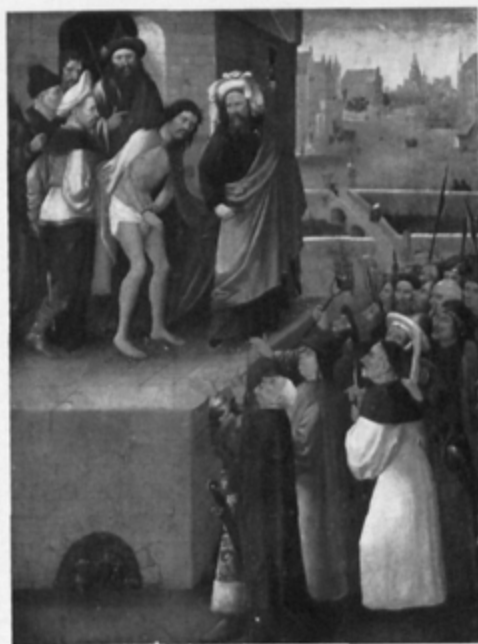
74 a

74 b

74 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple. *Present location unknown.* 74 b. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ driving the Money-Changers from the Temple. *Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum*



75. Jerome Bosch. Christ before Pilate. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



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77. Jerome Bosch. *Christ Shown to the People*. Frankfurt, *Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*. 76. Jerome Bosch. *Christ before Pilate*. Princeton, N.J., *The Art Museum of the Princeton University*. 77 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. *Christ Shown to the People*. Amsterdam, *Rijksmuseum*



78. Jerome Bosch. Christ Shown to the People. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



79. Jerome Bosch. Christ Crowned with Thorns. El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo

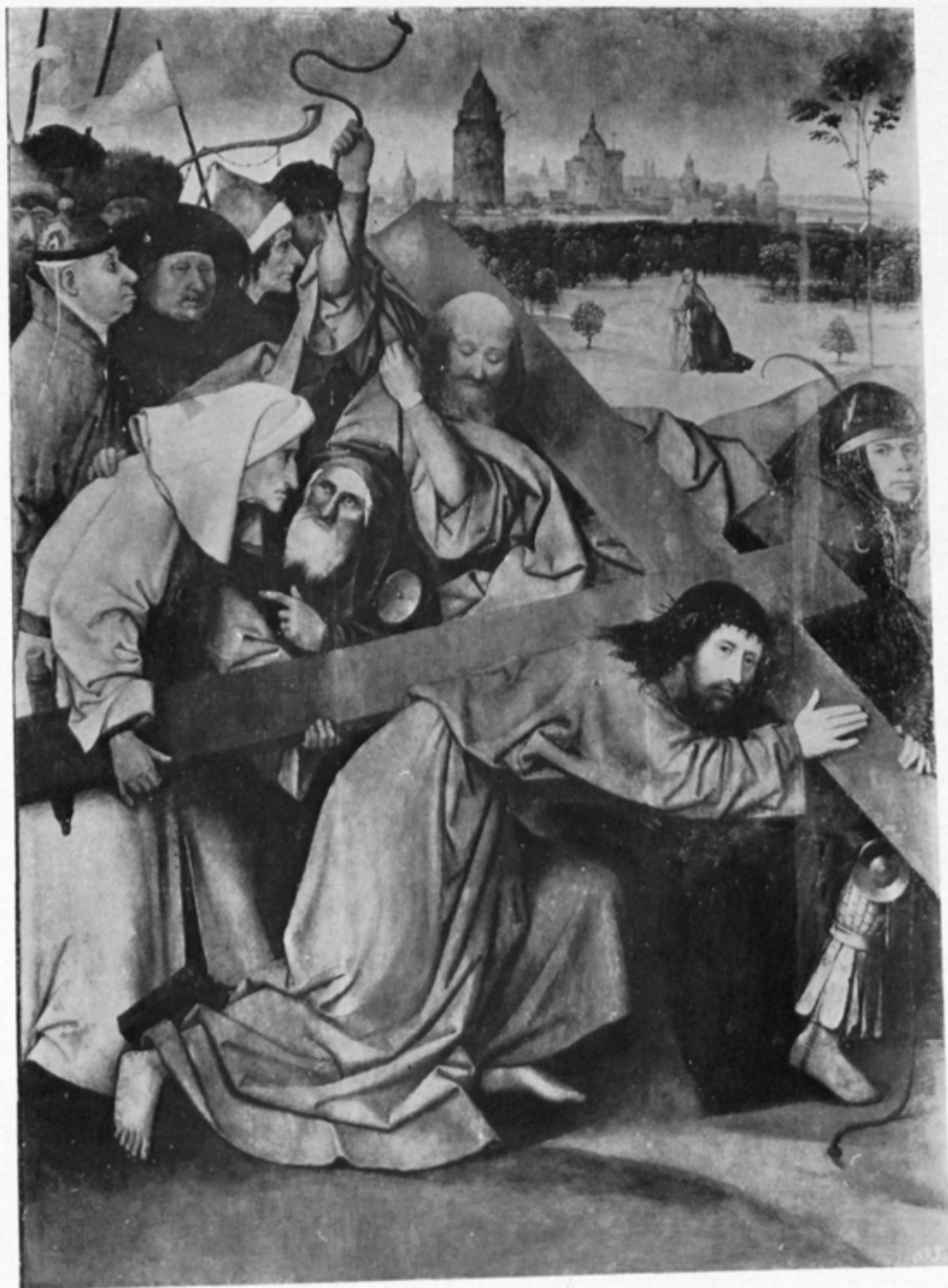


79 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. Altarpiece with Christ Crowned with Thorns. *Valencia, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes*



| | | |
|------|--|------|
| 80 a | | 80 b |
| | | 80 c |

80 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 80 b. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 80 c. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Present location unknown



81. Jerome Bosch. Christ Carrying the Cross. Madrid, Palacio Nacional



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83. Jerome Bosch. Left Shutter of a Triptych. Christ Carrying the Cross; Reverse, Child with Scooter and Whirligig. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 83 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. Christ Carrying the Cross. Present location unknown



84. Jerome Bosch. Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, Sts. John and Peter and a Donor. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



85. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. Vienna, *Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*



85. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment; Centrepiece. *Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*



85. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment; Shutters, The Garden of Eden and The Hell.
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Plate
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86. Jerome Bosch, Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum*



86. Jerome Bosch, Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, *Groeninge Museum*



86. Jerome Bosch, Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Shutters, The Garden of Eden and The Hell. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Groeninge Museum



89. Jerome Bosch. Two Shuttters showing the Ascent of the Blessed. *Venice, Palazzo Ducale*





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87. Jerome Bosch. *The Last Judgment*. London, D.E. Evans Collection. 88. Jerome Bosch. *The Hell*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund



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90. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Temptation of St. Anthony. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



90. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Temptation of St. Anthony, Centrepiece. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



90. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Temptation of St. Anthony, Shutters. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



90. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Temptation of St. Anthony, Reverse of the Shutters, Taking of Christ and Christ Carrying the Cross. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



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90 c. Jerome Bosch, copy. Altarpiece of the Temptation of St. Anthony. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



90 a

90 b | 90 b | 90 g | 90 g

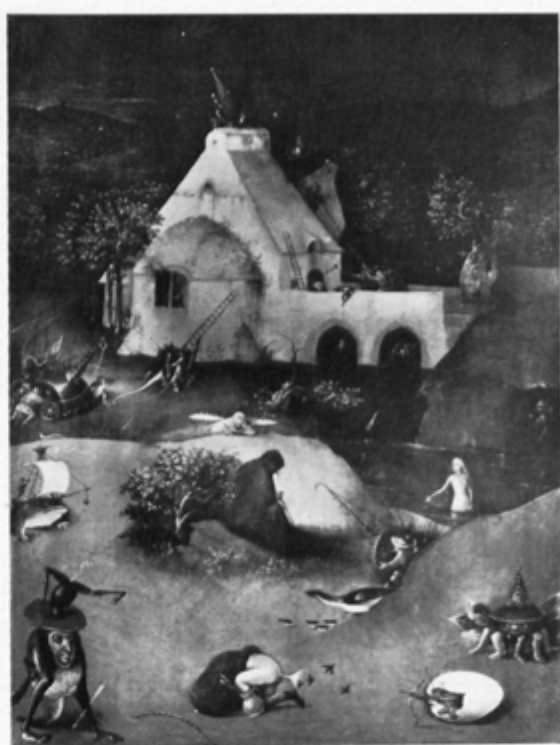
90 a. Jerome Bosch, replica. Temptation of St. Anthony. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. 90 b. Jerome Bosch, copy. Temptation of St. Anthony. Dessau, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen und Museen. 90 g. Jerome Bosch, replica. Temptation of St. Anthony. Madrid, Museo del Prado



90 m

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91. Jerome Bosch. Temptation of St. Anthony. Bois le Duc, F. van Lanschot Collection. 92. Jerome Bosch. Temptation of St. Anthony. Nashville (Canada), Private Collection. 94. Jerome Bosch. Temptation of St. Anthony. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



93. Jerome Bosch. Temptation of St. Anthony. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



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95. Jerome Bosch, copy. Temptation of St. Anthony. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 96. Jerome Bosch. St. Christopher. Winterthur, Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Römerholz



97. Jerome Bosch. St. Jerome at Prayer. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten



98. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece, Sts. Jerome, Anthony and Giles. *Venice, Palazzo Ducale*



99. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece, The Martyrdom of St. Julia. Venice, Palazzo Ducale



99. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of The Martyrdom of St. Julia, Centrepiece. *Venice, Palazzo Ducale*



99. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Martyrdom of St. Julia, Shutters, St. Anthony and a Soldier led by a Monk. *Venice, Palazzo Ducale*



101. Jerome Bosch. St. John on Patmos. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



101. Jerome Bosch. St. John on Patmos. Reverse, Scenes from the Passion. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



100. Jerome Bosch. St. James of Compostella and Hermogenes the Sage; Reverse, Temptation of St. Anthony.
Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts

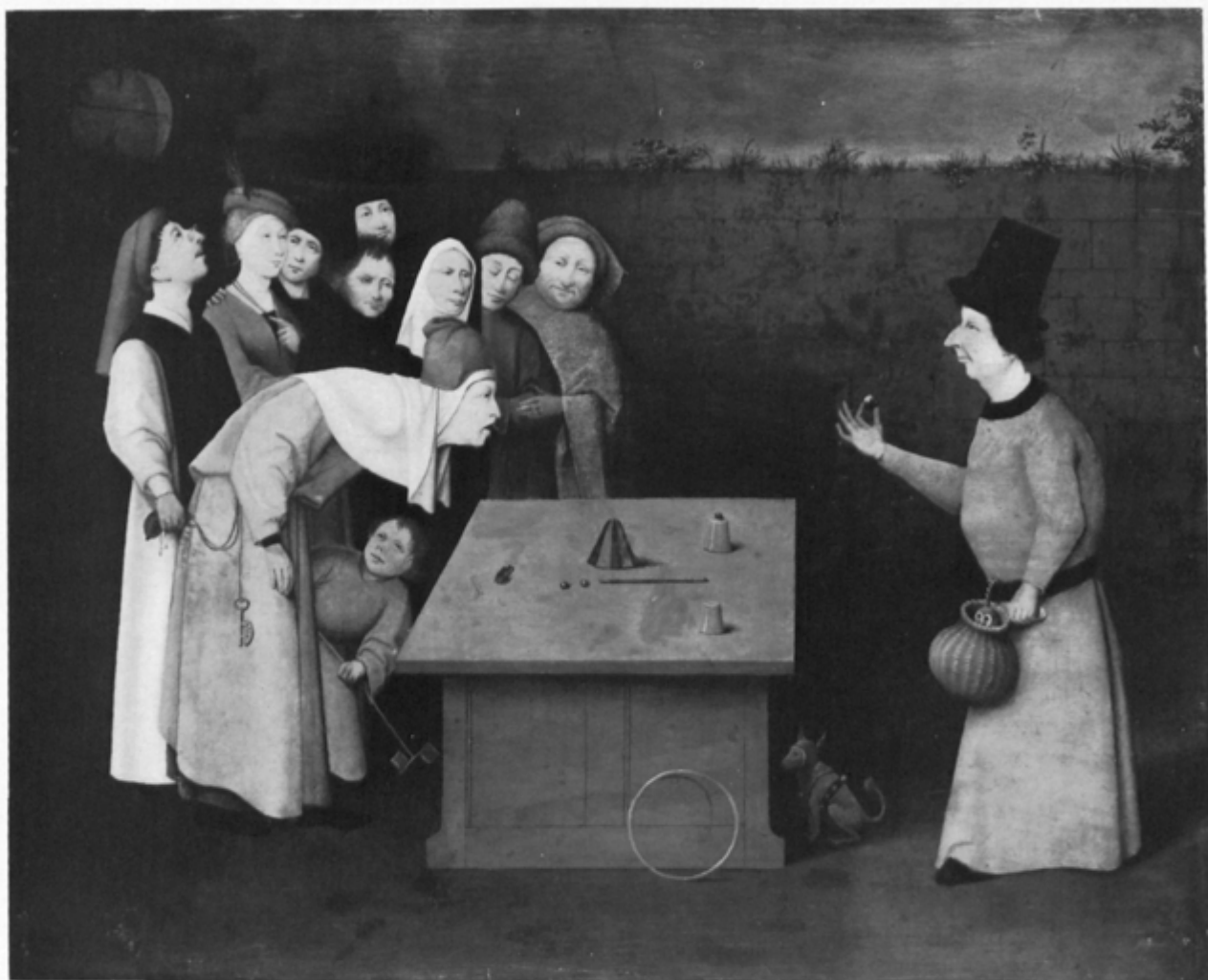


102. Jerome Bosch. St. John the Baptist. *Madrid, Museo Lazaro-Galdiano*



103. Jerome Bosch. The Prodigal Son. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

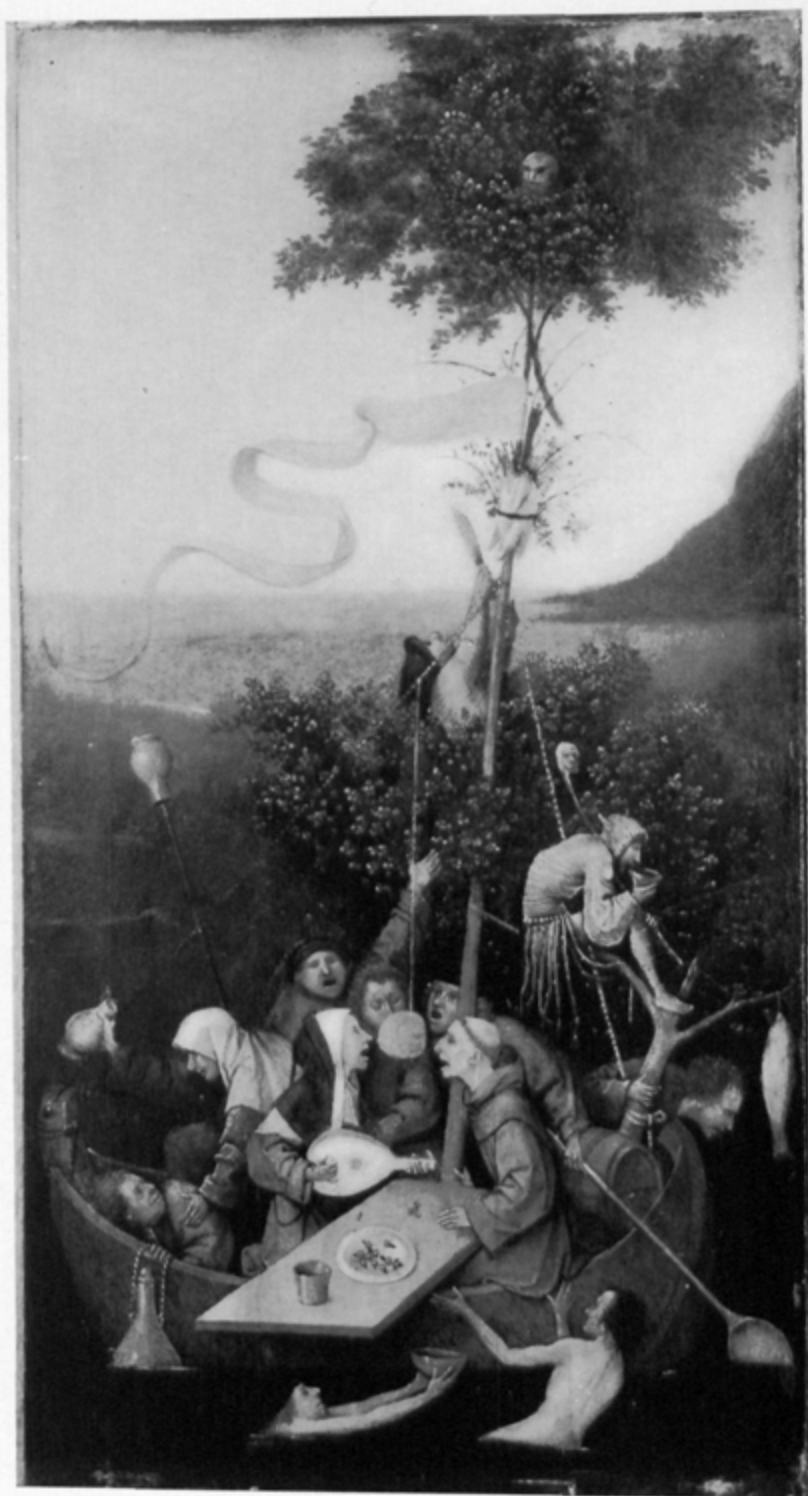




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105 a

105. Jerome Bosch, copy (?). *The Prestidigitator*. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée Municipal. 105 a. Jerome Bosch, *The Prestidigitator*. Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Wiltach Collection



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A. Jerome Bosch. Drawing. *The Ship of Fools*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (see p. 66). 106. Jerome Bosch. *The Ship of Fools*. Paris, Musée du Louvre



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108 a. Jerome Bosch, copy. *The Concert in the Egg*. Lille, *Palais des Beaux-Arts*. 107. Jerome Bosch. *The Dance of the Fools, Carnaval*. The Hague, *Cramer Gallery*



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109. Jerome Bosch. *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness*. Madrid, Museo del Prado. 109 a. Jerome Bosch, copy, about 1550. *The Extraction of the Stone of Madness*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



110. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Garden of Delights. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



110. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of *The Garden of Delights*, Centrepiece. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*

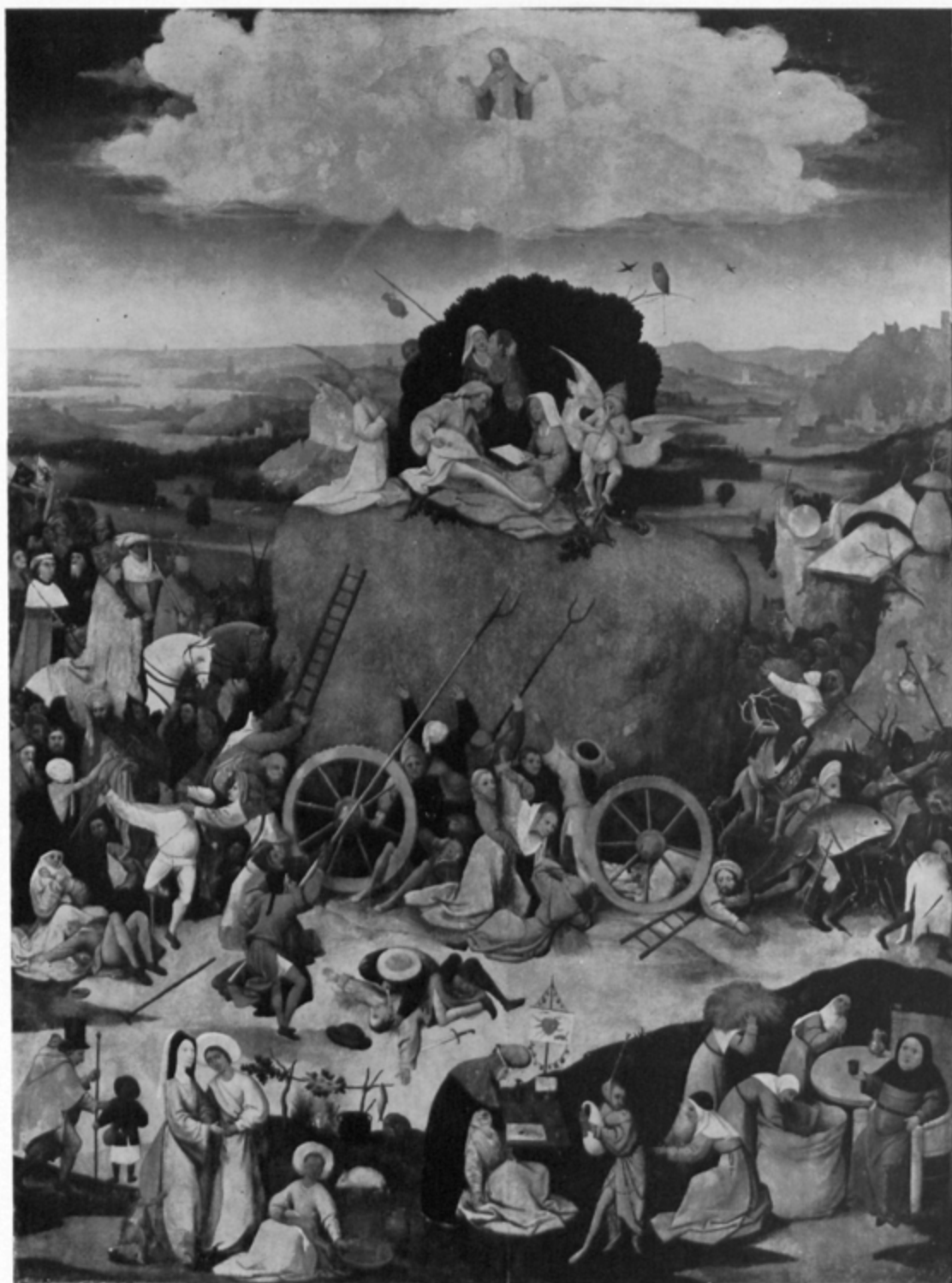


110 | 110 | 110 a

110. Jerome Bosch, Altarpiece of the Garden of Delights, Shutters, Garden of Eden and Hell. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 110 a. Jerome Bosch, Replica, Shutter, The Garden of Eden. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



111. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Hay Waggon. El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo



III. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Hay Waggon, Centrepiece. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo*



III. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of the Hay Waggon, Shutters, Garden of Eden and Hell. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio de S. Lorenzo*



III b, a, c. Jerome Bosch, Replica. Altarpiece of The Hay Waggon. Madrid, Museo del Prado



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112. Jerome Bosch, follower. Christ on the Cross. *Granada, Capilla Real.* 113. Jerome Bosch, follower. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



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Supp. 117. Dutch Master. Entombment. *Budapest, National Museum of Art.* Supp. 118. Dutch Master. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Rotterdam, Loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen from the J. W. Frederiks Collection*



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Supp. 121 | Supp. 120

Supp. 119. Dutch Master. Shutter of an Altarpiece, Adoration of the Magi, Reverse, Ecce Homo. Rotterdam, Loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen from the J.W. Frederiks Collection. Supp. 121. Dutch Master. Crucifixion. Belgium, Private Collection. Supp. 120. Dutch Master. Christ before Pilate. Present location unknown



Supp. 123 | Supp. 126

Supp. 123. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Lamentation. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. Supp. 126. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Entombment. *St. Louis, Miss., City Art Museum*



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|-----------|-----------|
| Supp. 125 | Supp. 124 |
| | Supp. 124 |

Supp. 125. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Virgin in Half-Length. Princeton, N.J., The Art Museum, Princeton University. Supp. 124. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Resurrection; Reverse, A Saint. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



Supp. 127 | Supp. 129

Supp. 128

Supp. 127. Jerome Bosch. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. *Present location unknown*. Supp. 129. Jerome Bosch. *Two Altarpieceshutters from an Adoration of the Magi*. *London, Art Market (Dr. Bloch, 1936)*. Supp. 128. Jerome Bosch. *The Garden of Eden*. *Chicago, The Art Institute, Robert A. Waller Fund*



Supp. 130
Supp. 132

Supp. 130. Jerome Bosch. Allegorical Scene, Fragment. *New Haven, Conn., The Yale University Art Gallery, The Rabinowitz Collection of European Paintings.* Supp. 132. Jerome Bosch. The Taking of Christ. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



Supp. 131. Jerome Bosch. St. Christopher, Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



Supp. 133. Jerome Bosch. *Christ Mocked*, London, National Gallery



Supp. 134

Supp. 137

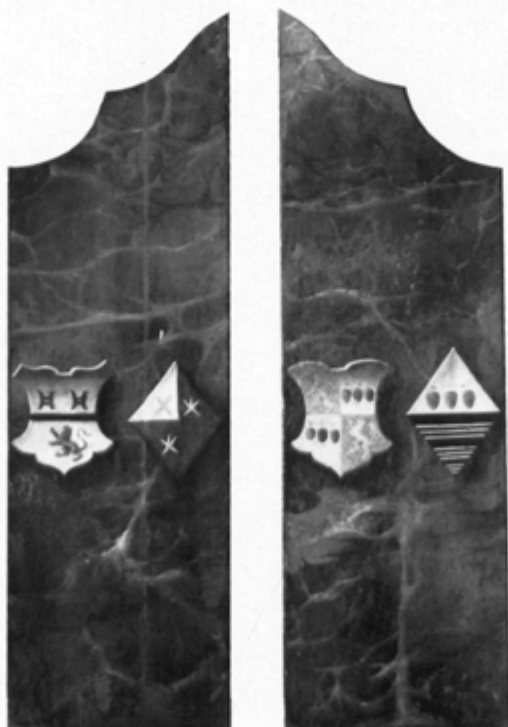
Supp. 134. Jerome Bosch. Last Judgment, Fragment. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.

Supp. 137. Jerome Bosch. The Deadly Sins. New York, A. Spencer & Samuels Company

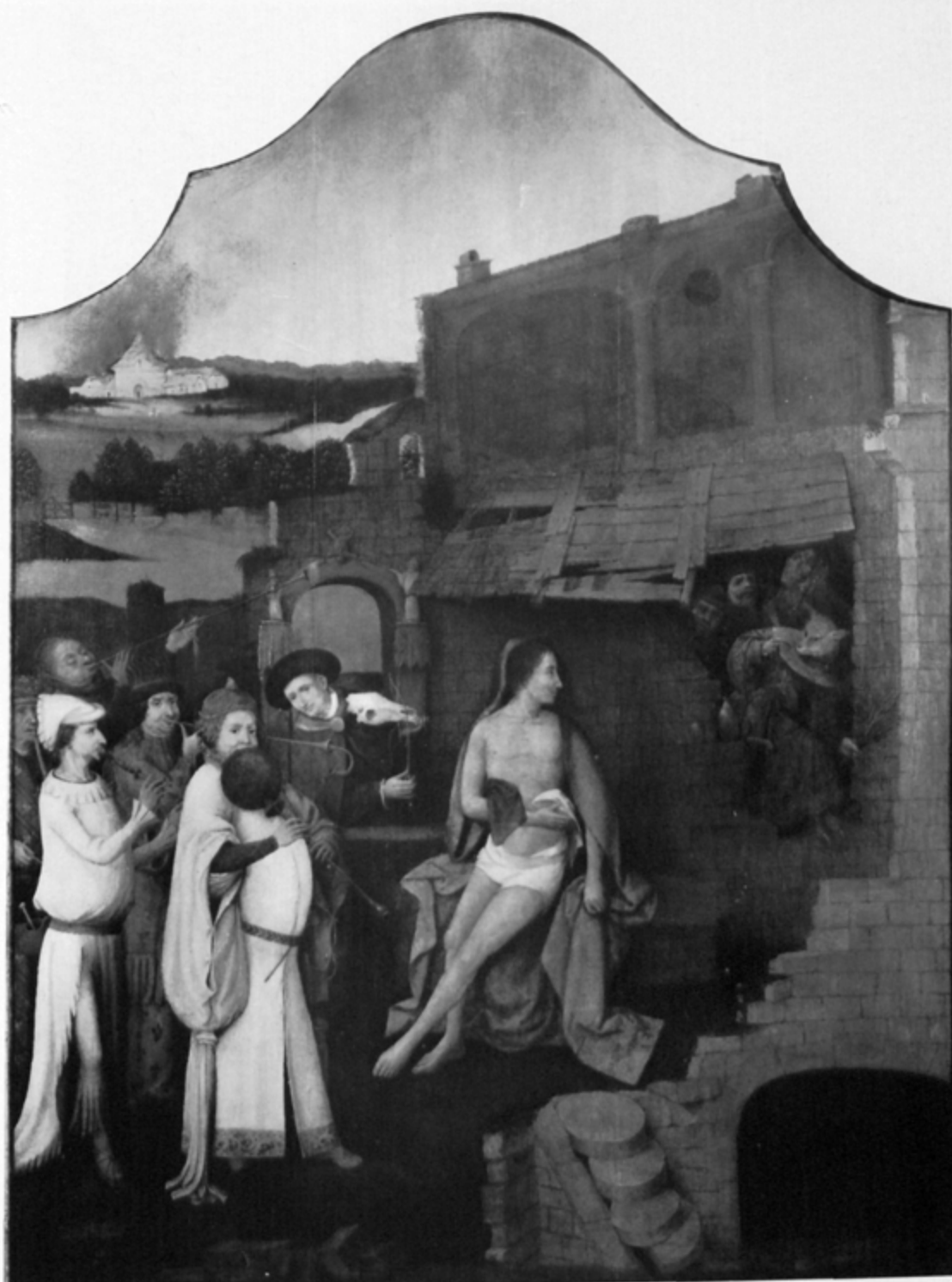


A | Supp. 135

A. Jerome Bosch. Drawing. *Death of the Miser*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (see p. 68). Supp. 135. Jerome Bosch. *Death of the Miser*. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection



Supp. 136. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of Job. On the Shutters, Sts. Anthony and Jerome. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum, on loan from the Church at Houcke*



Supp. 136. Jerome Bosch. Altarpiece of Job, Centrepiece. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum, on loan from the Church at Houcke*



Add. 139. Geertgen. Virgin and Child with Angels. Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



Add. 138 | Add. 142

Add. 140 | Add. 139

Add. 138. Geertgen. Adoration of the Magi. *Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art, Hanna Fund.* Add. 142. Geertgen, attributed to. St. Jerome. *Amsterdam, P. and N. de Boer Foundation.* Add. 140. Geertgen, follower. Christ on the Cross and Scenes from the Passion. Left Shutter of a Diptych. *Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.* Add. 139. Geertgen. Virgin and Child with Angels. Right Shutter of a Diptych. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*

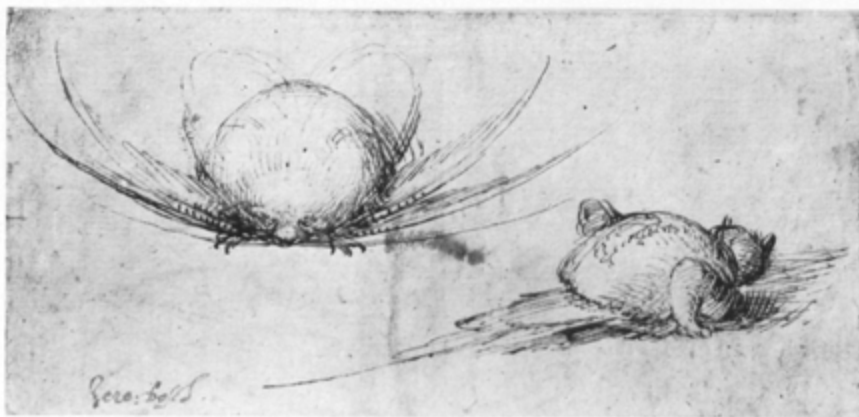


Add. 145 | Add. 148

Add. 145. Master of the Virgin among Virgins, follower. Crucifixion. *Present location unknown.* Add. 148. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Portrait of Hugo de Groot, New York, G. Wildenstein Gallery



Add. 149. Jerome Bosch (?). Christ Shown to the People; Dutch Masters. Wings with Donors and Predella with Instruments of the Passion. Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Arthur Kauffmann



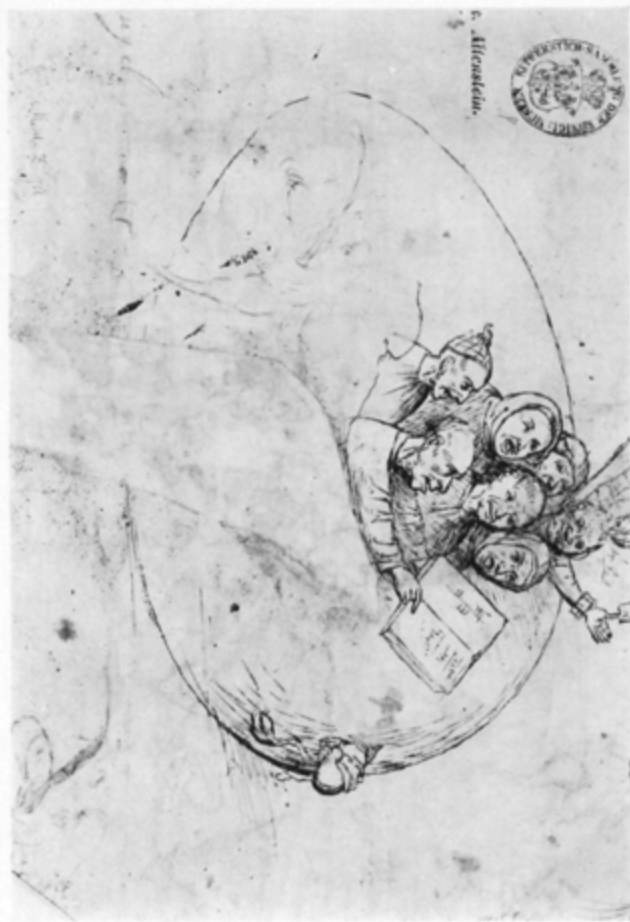
A
B

Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see p. 68). A. Two Fabulous Animals (recto), A Human Head with Legs (verso). B. Monsters and a Man lying on an Anvil, being Belaboured by Men with Hammers (recto), Monsters (verso). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



A | A
B | B

Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see p. 68). A. Two Fabulous Animals (recto), A Turtle (verso). B. An Owl in a Hollow Tree (recto), Various Figures (verso). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett



Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see p. 68). A. Temptation of St. Anthony (recto), Company inside a broken Egg (verso). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett. B. Man carrying a Ship, in which People are being Tortured. Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett der Bibliothek der Akademie der Bildenden Künste. C. A Peasant and Three bustlength Figures. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

A | A
B | C



A | B
A | C

Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see p. 68). A. A Fantastic Composition (recto), A Cursory Sketch of Two Women (verso). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. B. Study with Women Carrying Objects. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. C. A Comical Barber Scene. London, British Museum



A | B
C | C

Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see pages 68 and 69). A. Temptation of St. Anthony. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. B. Study of a Group of Figures for a Christ Shown to the People. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library. C. Conjurer, with Spectators (recto), A fantastic Concert (verso). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



A | B
A | B

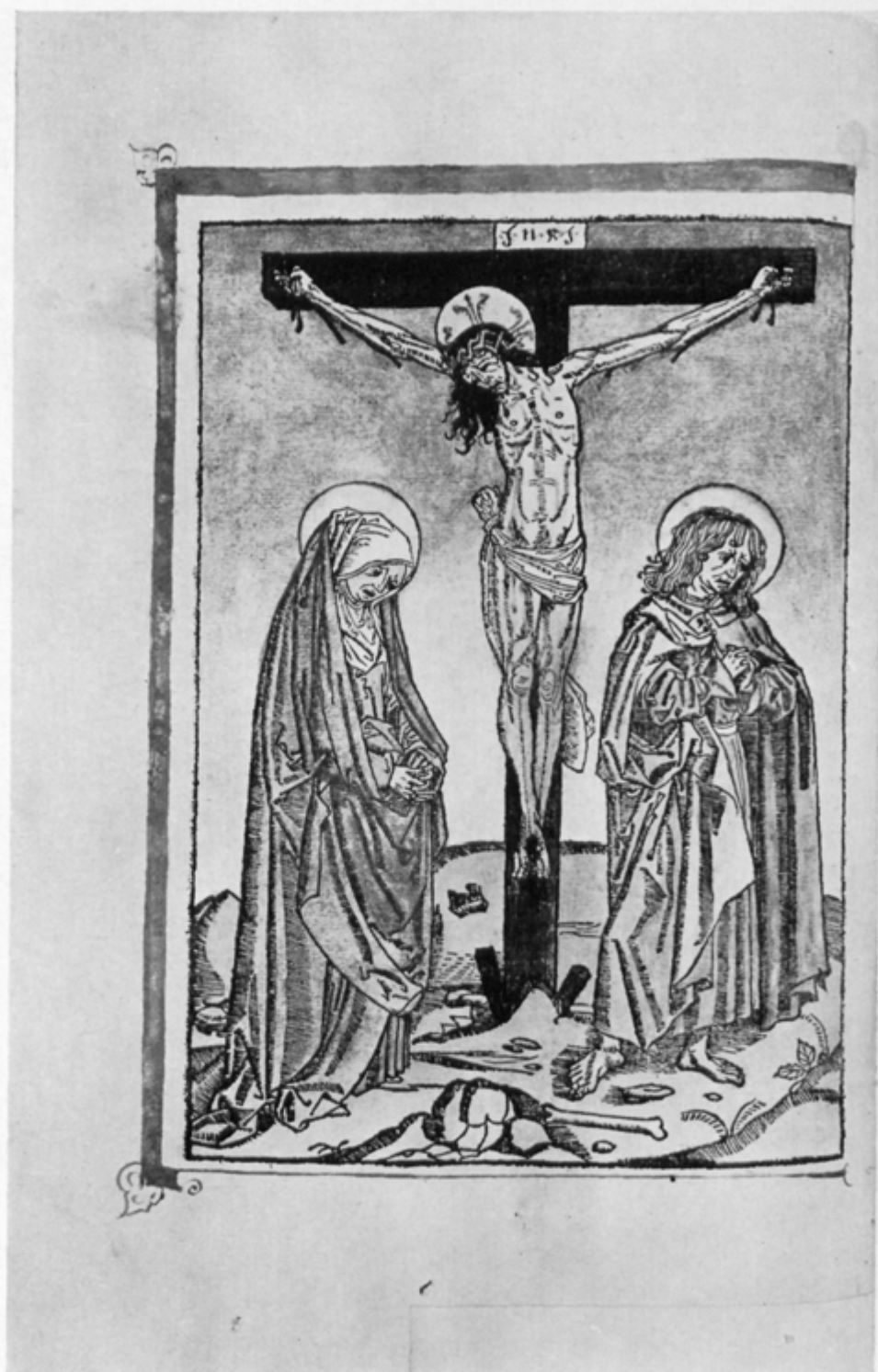
Jerome Bosch. Drawings (see pages 68 and 69). A. Nineteen Beasts and Monsters (recto), Seventeen Monsters (verso). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. B. Motives of Hell and Torture (recto), A Priest (verso). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlung

Et monstre fresche memoire a l'acteur les sepultures des anciens
 trespassez. et par les escriptures voit ceulx qui ont este desconfiz par debile ou
 par accident. Et commence la tierce partie de ce liure.

Plate
 130



Woodcut of the « Chevalier Délibéré ». Gouda, 1488. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
 (see p. 86)



Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Woodcut of the « Missale Traiectense », Delft, 1495. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (see p. 44)



Theodore Mathan, Engraving after Geertgen. Lamentation. Haarlem, Gemeentearchief (see p. 12)



A
—
B
—
C
Engravings in Bosch's style. A. The Last Judgment. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. B. The War Elephant. London, British Museum. C. St. Christopher. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet (see p. 70)



A
B

Engravings showing motives by Bosch. A. Grotesque Battle Scene. B. Job with Two Musicians



A
B

A. Master of the Virgin among Virgins. Drawing. The Death of Narcissus (?). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (see p. 44). B. Portrait of Bosch. Drawing in the Arras Codex. Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale (see p. 45)

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Alt-niederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume XIV.

- I The van Eycks—Petrus Christus
- II Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle
- III Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent
- IV Hugo van der Goes
- V Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jerome Bosch
- VI Memling and Gerard David
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- VIII Jan Gossart and Bernard van Orley
- IX Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier
- X Lucas van Leyden and other Dutch Masters of the Time
- XI The Antwerp Mannerists—Adriaen Ysenbrant
- XII Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst
- XIII Anthonis Mor and his Contemporaries
- XIV Pieter Bruegel—General Index

